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Of AUTHENTIC and ENTERTAINING

VOYAGES,

Digested in a Chronological Series.

The whole exhibiting

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and NATURAL HISTORY of most Nations  
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In SEVEN VOLUMES.

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The SECOND EDITION.

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VOL. I.

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LONDON:

Printed for W. STRAHAN; J. RIVINGTON; W.  
JOHNSTON; J. DODSLEY; T. CASLON; T. LOWNDES;  
W. NICOLL; RICHARDSON and URQUHART; T.  
JEFFERIES; and B. COLLINS at Salisbury.

MDCCLXVI.





# THE P R E F A C E.

**S**O many collections of Voyages have been already given to the world, that the compiler of the ensuing volumes thinks it incumbent upon him to explain the motives which have induced him to swell the number of these productions. One of his principal views in undertaking the work, was to disincumber this useful species of history from a great deal of unnecessary lumber, that tended only to clog the narration and burthen the memory.

We live in an age of levity and caprice, that can relish little besides works of fancy; nor do we listen to instruction unless it be conveyed to us under the pleasing form of entertainment. But to mix profit with delight should be the aim of all writers, and the business of every book: and nothing can contribute more to these valuable ends, than a detail of Voyages; in which we can travel to the most distant corners of the world without stirring from our closets, choose the most enter-

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taining route, embark with the most agreeable companions, view remote cities and their governments, extend our acquaintance thro' all the nations of the globe, and interest ourselves in a succession of incidents and adventures, that at once improve the mind and delight the imagination.

These purposes, we apprehend, have not been fully answered by the voluminous collections which have hitherto appeared in this country: the size and price of a folio are sufficient to intimidate an ordinary reader from purchasing the work or perusing its contents. Besides, they are generally so stuffed with dry descriptions of bearings and distances, tides and currents, variations of the compass, lee-way, wind and weather, sounding, anchoring, and other terms of navigation, that none but meer pilots, or seafaring people, can read them without disgust.

Our aim has been to clear away this kind of rubbish in such a manner as to leave the narrative less embarrassed, but more succinct: we have not only retrenched the superfluities, but endeavoured to polish the style, strengthen the connexion of incidents, and



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and animate the narration, wherever it seemed to languish.

In the arrangement of our materials, we have deviated from the plan which has been followed by all other compilers of Voyages; instead of beginning with the circum-navigators, and classing together the different Voyages which have been made to the same countries; we have set out with the Discoveries of Columbus, and introduced every subsequent Voyage in chronological order, so as to form, as it were, The Annals of Navigation. Thus we trace the spirit of adventure in a regular progress thro' all the various streams of discovery, in every different channel give a new entertainment, and avoid the fatiguing sameness of immediate repetition.

The Charts, Maps and Plans, that decorate this Work, are correctly drawn and engraved from the most approved English and French authors, and the longitudes adjusted from the meridians of London and Ferro. The Historical Cuts, Heads and Views, are also neatly engraved from the best materials that could be procured.

T H E



COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES.



The First Voyage of COLUMBUS.

**A**S we do not pretend to give a minute detail of all the voyages that have been performed, and every discovery which hath been made, but propose to collect those only which are the most material and interesting, we shall pass over the first enterprizes upon the western coast of Africa by the Portugueze, and begin with the discovery of the West-Indies by Christopher Columbus; an expedition attended with the most important consequences to almost all the trading powers of Europe, and fraught with circumstances so new and surprizing, as cannot fail to engage, and even captivate the reader's attention. The history of these transactions will undoubtedly meet with the greater regard on account of its authenticity, when we assure the publick, it was originally written by the son of Columbus, who having attended his father in his last voyages, was an eye-witness of a great many curious facts that occurred in the course of the undertaking, and who collected

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lected all the rest of the materials, either from the Admiral's own papers, or the information of persons of credit, who bore a share in his first discovery and settlement of Hispaniola.

Christopher Columbus, who was a native of Genoa, having been instructed in the arts of navigation and cosmography, spent the greatest part of his youth at sea, and seems to have been well acquainted with all the Portuguese discoveries, from Cape Nao, in the kingdom of Morocco, to Cape de Verd, which at that time was the utmost extent of their navigation.

Christopher happening to be on board of one of the ships belonging to the famous Corsair Columbus the younger, when he attacked four large Venetian galleys near Cape St. Vincent, had the mortification to see the vessel on fire, so that he was obliged to commit himself to the sea, in order to avoid the fury of the flames. Being an excellent swimmer, he reached the shore, and repaired to Lisbon, where, by his upright conduct and insinuating behaviour, he soon acquired a good number of friends, and engaged the affection of a lady of some fortune, whom he married with her mother's consent. Among the papers of his wife's father, who had been sometime dead, he found a great many manuscripts and charts, the perusal of which not only gratified a natural inclination he had to the study of cosmography, but also inflamed him with the ambition of making a discovery which should eclipse every enterprize of that kind which had been hitherto atchieved.

The more he exercised the power of natural reason, the more he was persuaded, that so great a part of the globe as was then unknown, must consist of something else than sea, and that it was practicable to find a shorter way to the Indies by the west, than  
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that course which the Portuguese adventurers were then endeavouring to follow all round Africa to the southward : for he firmly believed that the East Indies extended so far easterly, as to be within the reach of a short voyage, performed in a westerly direction.

Possessed of this notion, which he supported by a number of plausible arguments, he addressed himself to John II. king of Portugal, the great patron of discovery, who listened attentively to his project, though he did not relish the terms of his proposal, relating to his own private advantage, in case his endeavours should meet with success. John therefore amused him for some time, during which he thought he had extracted the marrow of his scheme, and on pretence of sending supplies to the colony of the Cape de Verd islands, fitted out a vessel, in order to discover the Indies on his own score : but this ungenerous enterprize miscarried ; for those charged with the execution, after a fruitless voyage of many days, returned to the Cape, fully persuaded that the project was altogether chimerical.

Columbus so deeply resented this unfair and clandestine conduct of the king, that he resolved to leave Portugal, and offer his services to some other power ; and accordingly withdrew himself into Castile, which was then governed by Ferdinand and Isabella, to whom he presented his plan and proposals : but this step he did not take till after he had sent his brother Bartholomew with the same offers to Henry VII. king of England, who in all probability would have been the proprietor of the new world, had not Bartholomew been taken and stripped by pirates in his passage ; so that when he at length arrived in London, he was reduced to such extreme poverty as utterly disabled him from promoting his suit, and obtaining an audience of his majesty, until, by making and vending sea-charts, he, in the course of se-

veral years, acquired some reputation, and at last found means to communicate the scheme, which met with all the encouragement he could desire: but by that time, his brother had actually sailed in the service of their Castilian majesties. Even Christopher did not carry his point till after he had persevered in his solicitations for the space of eight years, during which he wrestled with incredible opposition from the ignorance, obstinacy and envy of the Spaniards. Nay, his patience was at last quite exhausted by his fruitless attendance, and he had actually taken his leave of Ferdinand and Isabella, intending to try his fortune at the court of France, and if rejected there to proceed for England in quest of his brother, of whose fate he was entirely ignorant; when he was unexpectedly recalled by the queen of Castile, at the earnest entreaties and persuasion of Lewis de Saint Angelo her confessor, who prevailed upon her to comply with the demands of Columbus, and even lent her money to promote the expedition.

Christopher was immediately appointed admiral on the ocean, to enjoy all the appointments, prerogatives and privileges annexed to the flags of Castile and Leon in their respective seas; it was agreed, that all civil employments in the islands and continent to be discovered, should be wholly at his disposal; that all governments should be given to one of those persons he should name; that he should appoint judges in Spain for Indian affairs; that over and above the salary and perquisites of admiral, viceroy and governour, he should have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found or acquired within the limits of his admiralship, after the charge of the conquest should be defrayed; together with an eighth part of all that he should bring home in his fleet; in consideration of which, he should be at one eighth part of the expence.

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These articles being settled, and his commission and grants confirmed by the hands and seal of their catholic majesties, the admiral repaired to Palos, in order to forward his equipment, which consisted of three small vessels, namely the Santa Maria, admiral Columbus, the La Pinta, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the La Nina with square sails, commanded by his brother Vincent Yanez Pinzon, both natives of Palos.

These Caravals being furnished with provision, necessaries and ninety men, set sail on Saturday the 3d day of August in the year 1492: next morning the rudder of the La Pinta broke loose, so that the admiral was obliged to lie too, though the weather was so rough that he could give no other assistance, than that of encouraging the crew by his presence. However, Pinzon the captain, who was an able seaman, soon repaired the damage, which was supposed to have been contrived by the master, because he was averse to the voyage; and they proceeded tolerably well till Tuesday, the sea being high, the ropes by which the rudder had been secured gave way, and they were forced again to lie by until they could put it to rights, so as to steer the ship as far as the Canary Islands, which they discovered on Thursday about break of day. The wind being in their teeth, two days elapsed before they could anchor at Gran Canaria, where the admiral left Pinzon with directions, to procure if possible another ship, while himself, accompanied by the La Nina, sailed on the same design for the island Gomera, which he reached on Sunday. Upon his first arrival, he sent his boat ashore to enquire after a vessel, and at its return next day understood that there was not one in the whole island, though the inhabitants hourly expected Donna Beatrix de Bobadilla their proprietess from the Gran Canaria in a vessel of forty tuns, which might be easily fitted

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for his voyage. In consequence of this intimation he resolved to wait for her arrival, and in the mean time sent a man on board of a bark bound for Gran Canaria to inform Pinzon of the place where he lay, and help him to repair his rudder in case he had not been able to procure another ship. Having waited a long time in vain for an answer, he resolved to return to the Gran Canaria, and sailing on the 24th, came up with the bark which had been hitherto detained by contrary winds: that same night he sailed close by the island of Teneriff, and saw abundance of flame issue from the peak, and next day anchored at the Gran Canaria, where he found Pinzon, who told him that the Lady Beatrix had sailed some days before, in that vessel for which he had waited so long. Although he was mortified at this disappointment, he resolved to repair the damaged Caraval as well as he could, by furnishing her with a new rudder, and at the same time to alter the square sails of the La Nina, so as that she might be the more able to keep company with her consorts.

Thus refitted and improved they departed from the Gran Canaria on the 1st of September, and next day arrived at Gomera, where some time being spent in laying in provisions, wood and water, they set sail on Thursday the 6th, and stood away to the westward, though they made little way, because there was scarce any wind. On Sunday about day break the admiral found himself nine leagues west of the island Ferro, where they lost sight of land, and many people on board wept bitterly, on the supposition that they would hardly ever see it again. Columbus perceiving this despondence, which he was afraid would infect the whole company, comforted them with the most confident assurances of wealth and prosperity; and though they sailed eight-  
teen

teen leagues that day, pretended they had made no more but fifteen, resolving to disguise his reckoning in this manner during the whole voyage, that they might not think themselves so far from Spain as they really were.

Continuing his course, he, on Wednesday the 12th of September, being 150 leagues west of Ferro, discovered the body of a large tree, which seemed to have been a long time upon the water. Here he found a current setting strongly to the north-east; and when he had run fifty leagues farther westward, he, on the 13th, in the twilight, perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-east, and at day-break half a point more. He was not a little surprised at this variation, which had never been observed before; but he had reason to be still more amazed, when sailing about 100 leagues farther, he found the needles varied about a point to the north-east at night, and pointed upon the star in the morning.

On Saturday, the 15th, being almost 300 leagues west of Ferro, at night, they saw a surprising body of light fall from the sky into the sea, at the distance of four or five leagues from the ships, to the south-west, tho' the weather was fair, the wind favourable, the sea smooth, and the current setting north-east.

The people on board the La Nina had, the preceding day, been surprised at sight of a heron and tropick bird, which the Spaniards call *rabo de junco*: but the next day they were still more astonished, when they saw the sea, in a manner, covered with green and yellow weeds, which seemed to be lately washed away from some rock or island. From this phenomenon they concluded that they were near some land; especially as they perceived a live lobster floating among these weeds; and afterwards found the sea water grow less salt as they advanced:



besides, they were attended by vast shoals of tunny fish.

On Tuesday, the 18th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the Pinta, being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and told him, that he had seen a great number of birds flying westward, so that he expected that night to discover land, which indeed he thought he already descried to the northward, at the distance of fifteen leagues. But this was a notion to which no regard was paid by the admiral, who was convinced of its being a deception, and therefore would lose no time in altering his course, notwithstanding the solicitations of his people, who were very well disposed to credit such an agreeable illusion. However, as the wind began to freshen, they took in their topsails at night, this being the first time they had occasion to trim a sail, in the space of eleven days, during which they still continued the course westward.

On the 19th day of September, in the morning, the admiral seeing a number of sea gulls, began to conceive hopes of land, from which he supposed these fowl would not fly a great way: and in that opinion, sounding with a line of two hundred fathom, tho' he found no bottom, he perceived the current setting to the south-west.

On Thursday the 22d they took a bird like an heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the head, and web feet, saw abundance of weeds, and in the evening they were visited by three land birds singing, which flew away at day-break, and confirmed the admiral in the opinion that he could not be far from land. Next day, they saw a tropick bird, alcatraz, and such a quantity of weeds, as alarmed the people, who began to fear that their course would be impeded.

About this time, the wind blew from the south-west, which though contrary, gave great satisfaction

to the admiral, in as much as he could now convince the crew of the vanity of their fears, in supposing that as the wind had been always right a-stern, they should never have a fair gale to carry them back. Yet, in spite of all his reasons and remonstrances; the crew began to murmur, in apprehension of perishing at sea, in quest of a country which was no where to be found; and their discontent rose to such a degree of clamour, that in all probability a mutiny would have ensued, had not a brisk wind sprung up at west-north-west, and demonstrated that they would always have a chance for returning, notwithstanding the insinuations of some, who had affirmed, that the first change was no settled breeze, but a transient puff, which made no impression upon the surface of the sea: besides, their hope of land was revived by a turtle that flew over the ship, and the flight of several small birds that came from the west.

The more the people were elated by these signs; the greater was their mortification, when they found themselves disappointed: and now, they not only loudly complained, but even began to cabal against the admiral, who, they said, from a foolish and ill-grounded fancy, had formed the design of raising his own family and fortune at the expence of their lives and labour; they suggested to one another, that they had already proceeded far enough to manifest their courage and perseverance, and that it was now high time to return to their friends and country, even if they should be obliged to compel Columbus to gratify their desire in this particular. They were the more sanguine in the prosecution of this scheme, as they supposed the admiral, who was a foreigner, could not have interest enough at court to bring them to condign punishment for their disobedience and rebellion, especially as they knew he had powerful enemies who would embrace

every opportunity of frustrating his designs : nay, to such a pitch of fury were they wrought by their terror and despair, that some among them actually proposed to throw him overboard, and affirm in Spain that he had dropped into the sea, while eagerly employed in making his observations.

Columbus was not ignorant of this mutinous spirit that possessed his men, and exerted uncommon address in quelling it, sometimes by representing the duty they owed to him, who was vested with a legal authority, which he was resolved to maintain, tho' at the hazard of his life ; and sometimes by reproaching them with their impatience and pusillanimity, which even the most apparent signs of land could not repress. In a word, he refuted their fears, soothed their disquiets, and encouraged their hopes, in such a manner as prevented them from taking any resolution to the prejudice of the enterprize.

On Tuesday the 25th day of September, about sun setting, Pinzon, whose ship was along side of the admiral, all of a sudden, called out, land ! land ! and pointed towards the south-west, where they perceived something like an island, at the distance of five and twenty leagues : this appearance was so agreeable to the men, that they gave thanks to God with great fervency of devotion ; and tho' Columbus did not in his own mind assent to the inference they had drawn, he, in compliance with their clamorous demand, stood towards the supposed island, during the best part of the night, and in the morning they saw it vanish in the clouds, - so that their dissatisfaction returned, and their clamour was renewed. Nevertheless the admiral persisted in the execution of his purpose, with that steadiness and intrepidity which were peculiar to him. On the Friday following, they caught fish with gilded backs, which in all probability were dolphins ; and here they



they perceived the currents were altogether irregular. Next day they saw some alcatrizes or gulls, and abundance of flying fish, which are in length about seven or eight inches, furnished with two little membranous wings, or rather broad fins, by the help of which they fly above water when pursued by the dolphins, and very often drop into vessels; for, as their wings become dry in a very little time, the utmost extent of their flight does not exceed a bow-shot.

On Monday, the first day of October, the pilot of the admiral's ship was by account 578 leagues west of the island Ferro; and tho' the reckoning of Columbus amounted to 707, he winked at the other's gross mistake, lest the sailors should be quite dejected by knowing exactly how far they were from home. On the third, seeing no birds, they conjectured that they had slipped between some islands; and the men earnestly entreated the admiral to steer either to the one side or to the other, in quest of the land which they imagined they had left; but he would not comply with their intreaties, because he was unwilling to lose the favourable wind that carried him to the westward, which he accounted his surest course, and would not take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his direction from that which he had all along assured them, would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude of the admiral they interpreted into obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the brink of taking some desperate step to his prejudice, when their fury was appeas'd by the arrival of above forty sparrows, and some other land birds that came from the westward.

On Sunday, the 7th of October, some imperfect signs of land appeared that way, but no man on

board would venture to mention it, because their catholick majesties had promised a pension of thirty crowns for life, to him who should first discover land. But, in order to prevent their noisy exclamations at every trifling symptom or conceit, it was likewise decreed, that whosoever should cry land! three days before it was actually made, should forfeit the reward, even tho' he should afterwards prove the discoverer.

Notwithstanding this precaution, the Nina, which being the best sailor, kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoisted the colours, in token of land: but the farther they sailed, the more they were convinced of their mistake; for, the appearance that misled them totally vanished as they advanced. Next day, however, they were in some measure consoled for their disappointment by many flights of great fowl and small land birds from the west to the south-west: and the admiral being fully persuaded that they could not go far to sea, he, in imitation of the Portuguese, who had discovered many islands by following the direction of such birds, altered his course and stood to the south-west, having now run 750 leagues to the westward of the Canaries, within which space he had hoped to find Hispaniola, which he then called *Cipango*.

On Monday, October 8th, they were visited by twelve singing birds, of different colours, and saw a great number of others, great and small, jays, gulls, and ducks, flying towards the south-west; they likewise perceived the air to be fresh and odouriferous, as at Sevil in the month of April; but the crew had been so often deceived, that even these certain signs could not suppress their murmurs, which, during the two succeeding days, encreased to such a degree, in spite of all the efforts of the admiral, that he would not have been able much longer to withstand the storm of their discontent, which was ready

dy to burst in open rebellion, when it was providentially dissipated by such manifest tokens of the neighbourhood of land, as they could no longer discredit.

On Thursday, the 11th of October, those on board of the admiral saw a green ruff, together with a large rock fish swim by the ship; the people of the Pinta discovered a cane floating, and took up a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board, and abundance of weeds, newly washed from the banks: at the same time the crew of the Nina perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

The admiral being now assured of the vicinity of land, harangued his men at night, after prayers, reminding them of the mercy of God, in granting them fair weather during such a long voyage, and exhorting them to be extremely vigilant for that night, in as much as he firmly expected to see land next day; and in order to encourage them to be watchful, he not only mentioned the pension of thirty crowns, but also promised to give a velvet doublet to him who should be the first discoverer. After this speech, he, about ten o'clock at night, retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on shore, he called to one Peter Gutierres, who being desired to observe, said, he plainly saw it, and conjectured it to be a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman or traveller, because it seemed to move, and vanished, and appeared by turns. This appearance increased their vigilance and caution, tho' they still held on their course till about two in the morning, when the Pinta being far a-head gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor, called Roderick de Triana, at the distance of two leagues: but he did not enjoy the pension, which was granted to the admiral, who had before perceived the light.

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Being so near the shore, all the ships lay to, and the people waited for morning with the utmost impatience of hope, that they might feast their eyes with what they had so long and so eagerly wished to behold.

Day no sooner broke than they perceived an island, about fifteen leagues in length, almost one continued plain, without hills, covered with green trees, supplied with delicious streams, and a great lake in the middle; and inhabited by a number of people, who ran down to the shore astonished at the sight of the ships, which they at first mistook for living creatures. As for the Spaniards, they were inflamed by the most eager curiosity, to know the particulars of this interesting discovery: and the vessels were no sooner brought to an anchor, than the admiral went ashore with his boat well-armed, and the royal standard displayed, being attended by the other two captains in their respective boats, with the particular ensigns of this enterprize, distinguished by an F. with a green cross on one side, and the names of Ferdinand and Isabella crowned on the other.

As soon as they landed, they kneeled on the shore, giving thanks to God for his indulgence, and kissed the ground while they shed tears of joy; then the admiral standing up, called the island St. Salvador, and took possession of it for their catholick majesties in the usual words, and with the solemnity proper on such occasions. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy, by the Spaniards, who joyfully swore to obey him as the representative of their majesties, and implored his pardon for the affronts and insults he had sustained, from their fear, and want of resolution.

A great number of the Indians being present at the transaction, and appearing to be very simple, quiet,





quiet, and peaceable, Columbus distributed among them some red caps, strings of glass beads, and other things of small value, which they received with transport, and seemed to prize at a very high rate. Day, when he returned to his ship, some of them swam after him, and others followed in canoes with parrots, bottoms of spun cotton, javelins, and other trifles, to barter for beads, bells, and other inconsiderable toys. Few of them seemed to be above the age of thirty. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, generally cut short above the ears, though in some it had grown down to their shoulders, and was tied about their head like the tresses of women; their countenances were open, and their features regular, but their high foreheads gave a wildness to their aspect. The faces of some, and bodies of others, were painted black, white, and red, though in a few, the noses and eyes only were coloured; and all of them, female as well as male, were stark naked. So little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked sword by the edge, without suspecting its mischievous quality; and as they were destitute of iron, they used javelins of wood, armed with fish bone.

Some of them being asked by signs, how they had acquired the wounds, the marks of which they still retained on their bodies, answered, in the same kind of language, that they received them in their own defence, against the inhabitants of other islands, who came with a view to enslave them. They seemed to be an ingenious people, and possessed a volubility of tongue, so as to repeat the words they heard with a very distinct pronunciation: and the only species of living creatures that the island produced, were parrots, which they bartered to the Christians, as we have already observed.

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Next day, being the 13th of October, in the morning, a great number of these Indians came aboard in their canoes, which are made by hollowing the trunk of a tree, some of them being so small as to hold one person only, and others large enough to contain forty; they are rowed with paddles, and so light, that if they chance to be overfet, the rowers can easily set them upright again, and empty the water with calabashes, which they keep for that purpose.

They had no jewels, nor was any kind of metal found among them, except some small plates of gold that hung at their nostrils, and as they expressed by signs came from the south and south-west, where there were many princes, islands, and countries.

They were so greedy of possessing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that if they could pick up a bit of broken earthen ware upon the deck, they would leap into the sea and swim ashore with it; and they would exchange any thing they had for the greatest trifles, insomuch that some of them gave five and twenty pounds of well spun cotton for three small pieces of Portugeze brass coin not worth a farthing; not that they believed the things they purchased, had in themselves much intrinsick value, but because they belonged to the white men, whom they looked upon as people descended from heaven, and of whom they desired to retain some memorial.

Next Sunday, being the 15th of October, the admiral in his boats, coasted the island towards the north-west, until he found a large bay or harbour, large enough to contain all the ships of Christendom. In this circuit he was attended by crowds of the inhabitants, who followed him by sea and land, expressing their wonder and regard by a thousand gesticulations; and arrived at a peninsula,

peninsula, where he saw half a dozen of their houses and plantations, as pleasant as those of Castile in the month of May. But, finding this was not the land he looked for, he took seven of these Indians to serve as interpreters, and returning to his ships sailed on the discovery of other islands that were discernible from the peninsula, reported by the inhabitants of St. Salvador to be fruitful and populous.

On Monday, having sailed seven leagues, he arrived at the west end of one, about ten leagues in length, which he denominated St. Mary of the Conception; but, perceiving no difference between the inhabitants of this island and those of St. Salvador, nor any thing else worth notice in its productions, he continued his course westward, and anchored upon the coast of another larger island, extending north west and south-east, above eight and twenty leagues. Before he reached this pleasant spot, which he named Fernandina, he took up at sea an Indian in a small canoe, furnished with a piece of their bread, a calabash full of water, and a little earth like vermilion; with which those people paint their bodies; he was likewise provided with some dry leaves, valued for their agreeable and wholesome smell; and a little basket, containing a string of glass beads, and two small pieces of Portuguese money; from which circumstances it appeared he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernandina, with the strange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long, he was weary with paddling, and desired to be taken on board. Columbus granted his request, treated him courteously, and sent him on shore, that he might prepossess the natives of Fernandina in favour of the new comers. The success answered the admiral's expectation; for, in consequence of the favourable account given by the Indian, the islanders came aboard in their canoes, to barter with  
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the same sort of commodities which were found at St. Salvador ; but they seemed to have more sagacity than the other, and made more advantageous bargains ; they had some cotton cloth in their houses, and the women wore a kind of short petticoat or swathe round the middle. Here were some trees that seemed to have been ingrafted, as they bore leaves or branches of four or five several sorts : there was plenty of fish, of different shapes and colours, lizzards and snakes, and some dogs, which however did not bark ; their houses were built like tents, almost entirely void of furniture ; and the beds in which they lay, were like nets hanging from two posts, and drawn together in the nature of a sling.

Finding nothing valuable in this island, Columbus, on Friday, October 19th, sailed to another, on which he bestowed the name of Isabella, in honour of her most catholick majesty. This, in goodness, beauty and extent, far exceeded the others ; for, besides that it abounded with delicious streams, pleasant meadows and groves, the prospect was diversified with hills, which the rest wanted. The admiral enamoured of its beauty, landed to perform the ceremony of taking possession, and walked through some meadows as green and delightful as those of Spain in the month of April. Here the ear was ravished with the songs of nightingales and other birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew through the air in such swarms, as darkened the day. Near one of the lakes, of which there was great plenty, the Spaniards, with their spears, killed an alligator seven feet long, which tho' at that time they looked upon with horror, they afterwards skinned and ate, as the most delicious food used among the Indians, by whom they are called yvanas:

Proceeding towards the inland parts, they arrived at a town, the people of which fled with all the  
goods



goods they could carry off ; but, the admiral forbidding his men to touch any thing they had left, their fear soon subsided ; and they, of their own accord, came down to the ships to barter.

Columbus, having made himself acquainted with the produce of Isabella, and the manners of its inhabitants, was unwilling to lose more time among those islands which resembled one another so much ; and therefore he set sail with a fair wind for a large country, extolled by the Indians under the name of Cuba, lying towards the south, at the north side of which he arrived on Sunday the 28th of October.

This island at first sight justified what had been said in its praise ; for it exhibited a most enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and appeared to be of great consequence, by the greatness and extent of its coasts and rivers.

In order to obtain some intelligence of the natives, the admiral anchored in a large river, the banks of which were shaded by thick and tall trees, adorned with blossoms and fruit altogether unknown in Europe : these were tenanted by a great number of birds, and the ground was clothed with grass of a most luxuriant growth. The Spaniards, not far from this place, entered two houses which were deserted by the people, who, terrified at the appearance of the ships, had betaken themselves to flight, leaving their nets and fishing-tackle, together with a dog that did not bark. However, they sustained no damage ; for the Christians, without touching any of their utensils reembarked, and continued their course westward, until they arrived at the mouth of another river, which the admiral called de Mares. This being more considerable than the other, the ships entered and sailed up a good way, and the banks were all along inhabited ; but here too the natives fled, with all the effects they could carry, to  
the

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the mountains, which appeared round and lofty, covered with verdant plants and stately trees.

Columbus foreseeing that he should never be able to learn the nature of the island, if the inhabitants should continue to avoid him in this manner; and reflecting, that in case he should land with a number of men, their terror would be increased, he ordered two Christians, attended by an Indian of St. Salvador, and another of Cuba who had ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and behave obligingly to the people they should find; and in the mean time he directed the ship to be careened: on which occasion he observed that all their fuel was mastick wood, of which there was great plenty all over the island.

The ship was repaired and ready to sail by the 5th of November, when the two ambassadors returned, accompanied by two Indians of rank, and informed the admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town consisting of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, made like those in the other islands, which altogether contained about one thousand persons; that they were met by the principal men of the place, who led them by the arms to the town, where they were accommodated with a spacious lodging, in which they sat upon wooden seats, formed in the shapes of strange animals, with their tails lifted up for leaning places, and eyes and ears of gold. While the Christians lolled upon these benches, called *duchi*, the Indians sat around them on the floor, and then came one by one to kiss the hands and feet of the strangers, whom they supposed had come from heaven: they, at the same time, treated them with some boiled roots, not unlike chesnuts in taste, and earnestly entreated them to stay some days, in order to repose and refresh themselves. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hospitality, they retired  
and

and made room for the women, who, with the same expressions of veneration, kissed the hands and feet of the Spaniards whom they likewise entertained with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two Indian attendants, who had represented the Christians as a humane and generous people. When they set out on their return for the ship, a great number of people proposed to accompany them, but they refused this courteous offer, and would accept of none but the king and his son, whom the admiral treated with great civility and respect. In their return, under the protection of this escorte, the two Spaniards had been kindly entertained at several petty towns, and met with a great number of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle their fires, with which they roasted those roots which constituted their chief food, and to perfume themselves with certain herbs they gathered for that purpose. They likewise saw a variety of birds and fowl, among which were partridges and nightingales, but no quadrupeds, except those silent dogs we have already mentioned: great part of the land was cultivated and bore, besides the bread-root, and a sort of beans, a kind of grain called *maiz*, of which was made a very well tasted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, of which the Christians saw vast quantities well spun; and this they gather from trees that grow spontaneously, without the least care or culture. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board of the ships, where they exchanged a basketful for a thong of leather; indeed it could be of no great value to themselves, inasmuch as they go naked, and make nothing of it but hammocks and short aprons for the women.

They had no gold, pearls or spice, but pointed towards the east, to a country called Bohio, in which



which there was great plenty.—It was in consequence of this information that the admiral resolved to sail thither ; but before he departed from Cuba, he took twelve Indians, men, women and children, whom he intended to carry into Spain ; and this seizure was made with so little disturbance, that a man who was husband to one of the females, came aboard in his canoe, and begged he might accompany his wife and children : the admiral being very well pleased with this instance of natural affection, granted his request, and treated them with great tenderness.

That same day being the 13th of November, he returned to the eastward for the island Bohio ; but the wind blowing hard at north, he was obliged to come to an anchor again, among some highlands near a large harbour which he called *del Principe* : the sea in the neighbourhood of this port, being covered with islands that lay so close together, that the greatest distance between any two of them did not exceed a quarter of a league : they produced a number of green trees, among others the mastick, aloes and palm, and though they were not inhabited, the people of Cuba resort to them in their canoes, and live some time upon them, supported by the fish and fowl they catch, together with what they find upon the surface of the earth ; for they are not at all nice in their appetite : on the contrary, they make no scruple to eat what we think not only unclean but even venomous, such as spiders, raw fish and worms that breed in rotten wood—In one of these islands, the Spaniards killed a beast like a Badger, caught a fish that resembled an hog, found a good quantity of mother of pearl in the sea, and observed that the rise and fall of the tide was more inconsiderable than in any other place which they had visited in these seas.

On

On Monday, November 19th, Columbus put to sea from Prince's Port, steering eastward for the island of Bohio or Hispaniola; but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the islands of Cuba and Isabella; and in this interval, he was deserted by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who having been informed by some Indians whom he concealed in his caraval, that Bohio abounded with gold, made use of the advantage he derived from his vessel which was a prime sailer, and left Columbus in the night, with a view to anticipate his success, and engross the treasure of that wealthy country.—The admiral being thus abandoned by one of his consorts, and the weather growing so rough that he could not keep the sea, he returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he named St. Catherine's: here while the crews were employed in taking in wood and water, he by accident perceived signs of gold on some stones in the river, and, farther up in the country, saw mountains covered with such tall pines as would furnish masts for the largest ships; and there was plenty of excellent oak for planks. In his run along the coast, for ten or twelve leagues to the south-east, he discovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was so ravished with the beauty of the country, that in mentioning the place which he called Puerto santo, he says, he entered the river where he found from five to eight fathoms of water; and proceeding a considerable way farther up in his boat, he was delighted with the transparency of the water, through which he could plainly see the sandy bottom, and with abundance and variety of verdant plains and lofty trees, inhabited by birds of different notes and plumage; so that he was even tempted in this delicious spot to fix his habitation for life. In this progress he saw a canoe drawn upon land, as large as a twelve oar barge, and in

an house hard by, he found a ball of wax and a man's skull in two baskets hanging at a post: but no person appeared, from whom they could receive the least information. They afterwards saw another canoe seventy feet in length, capable of containing fifty men, though made from the simple trunk of a tree.

Columbus having sailed 106 leagues along shore, arrived at the east end of Cuba, which he called Alpha; and on Wednesday, December 5th, struck off for Hispaniola, which, though but at the distance of sixteen leagues, he was by the currents prevented from reaching till next day, when he anchored in port St. Nicholas, so named by him in honour of that saint whose festival it happened to be. This harbour is large, deep, safe, and encompassed with many tall trees; tho' the country is rocky, and the trees in general not so large as those of Cuba; here however he found small oaks, myrtle and other shrubs, with a pleasant river that ran along a plain towards the port, round which he saw canoes as large as 15 oar barges. However, he could not establish any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, so that he ran along the coast to the northward, until he arrived at a port which he called the Conception, lying almost due south of a small island afterwards known by the name of Tortuga.

Observing that this land of Bohio was very extensive, and resembled the coast of Spain not only in the trees and plants, but also in the fishes; for they had caught soles, salmon, pilchards and crabs; the admiral bestowed upon it the appellation of Espannola—Here he saw numbers of natives who fled from his men with great precipitation; but at length, having caught a young woman who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose, she was carried to the ships and presented with several baubles,  
such



such as bells, and glass, then, without having received the least insult, dismissed to the town where she dwelt, attended by three Indians and as many Spaniards.

Next day, eleven men going ashore well armed, travelled four leagues up the country to a town or village consisting of a thousand houses, and tho' the inhabitants betook themselves to their heels, as usual, they soon returned, at the persuasion of a St. Salvador Indian, who went after them, and represented the Christians in a favourable light. Being now possessed with a firm belief that the Spaniards had come from heaven, they gazed upon them with equal astonishment and awe, presented them with victuals, and pressed them to stay all night in their village. The Spaniards declined accepting this invitation, and returning to the ships, reported that the country was pleasant and fertile, and the people whiter and handsomer than those whom they had hitherto seen; that they were tractable and courteous, and gave them to understand that the gold country lay farther to the eastward.

The admiral hearing this account, set sail immediately; and on the 15th day of December, while he lay between Hispaniola and Tortuga, in a very rough sea, he took up an Indian from a little canoe, whom he was surprised to see live in such tempestuous weather, and set him safe ashore, with some presents of small value. This man having signified to his countrymen how kindly he had been treated, they ventured to come aboard, but brought nothing of consequence, except some small grains of gold hanging to their ears and nostrils, of which, as they expressed by signs, there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

Next day, while the Spaniards were on shore, bartering with the cacique or lord of that district for a plate of gold, a canoe with forty men ap-

proached from the island of Tortuga, and the cacique no sooner perceived them, than he and his people sat down on the strand, in signal that they should not commit hostilities: notwithstanding this token of peace, they landed; upon which he rose, and by dint of threats induced them to re-embark, then he presented a stone to one of the Spanish officers, desiring him to throw it at the Tortugans, as a proof that he would espouse the cause of the Christians against the Indians of the canoe, who immediately returned to their own island.

On Tuesday December 18th, the same cacique came down in state, being carried on a palankine, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himself; he without scruple went on board of the admiral, who was at dinner, and entered the cabin without ceremony, accompanied by two antient men, who seemed to be his chief counsellors, and sat down at his feet. He was received with great civility and respect, and treated with victuals and wine, which having tasted, he sent to his people who remained on deck. After dinner, during which he and his ministers spoke very little, and that with great gravity and deliberation, he presented the admiral with a wrought girdle and two thin pieces of gold; in return for which he received a counterpane, a string of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red shoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water, which were so agreeable to the prince, that he and his counsellors told Columbus the whole island was at his command.—Then the admiral surprised him with the sight of a gold medal stamped with the effigies of Ferdinand and Isabella, which he considered with admiration, and indeed expressed signs of astonishment at every thing he saw. In the evening he was, at his own desire, sent ashore in the ship's boat, and saluted with the discharge of several guns, the  
noise

noise of which filled him with terror and amazement: however, he was so well pleased with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land, and returned to the place of his residence, the admiral's presents being carried before him with great pomp and ostentation.

On Monday the 24th of December, the admiral weighed and sailed to Punta Sancta, where he anchored about a league from shore, and the weather being quite calm, he retired to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two days: the crew followed his example, and contrary to the orders he had always given, left a boy at the helm. This their neglect and disobedience proved fatal to the vessel, which about midnight was carried by the current upon a ridge of rocks, before one soul on board was aware of the danger. The admiral himself was the first, who being waked by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, where perceiving their situation, he ordered the master and three sailors to take the boat and carry out an anchor astern. They accordingly jumped into the boat, but instead of obeying his directions, rowed to the other caraval, for the preservation of their own lives: he immediately caused the masts to be cut away, and the vessel to be lightened as much as possible; but all his efforts was ineffectual, and the water ebbing away, her seams opened, and all below deck was full of water. In this emergency, the boat returned from the other caraval, which would not receive the men who had run away with her; and the admiral seeing no hopes of saving his own ship, carried his men on board of the other, with which he lay to till morning, and then approached the land within the shoal, after having dispatched messengers to inform the king of his misfortune, and solicit the assistance of the natives



in unloading the vessel. The cacique consoled the Christians with tears in his eyes, and ordered his people to repair in their canoes to the wreck, and obey the admiral's directions. By the assistance of these honest and friendly savages, every thing of value was carried ashore, and deposited in houses appointed for that purpose, which were guarded with such vigilance and fidelity, that nothing of any consequence was lost.

On Wednesday December 26th, this hospitable prince made another visit to the admiral, whom he consoled for his loss with many demonstrations of sorrow and sympathy, told him he might command his whole fortune, presented him with some vizor masks, the eyes, nose and ears of which were made of gold, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of that metal, promised to send for a great quantity from a place called Cebao: meanwhile a canoe arrived from some other island, with Indians who brought plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above every other commodity; and the seamen ashore carried on a trade with the natives of Hispaniola, who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles.

Columbus was so well pleased with the nature and productions of this island, as well as with the manners of the inhabitants, that he resolved to settle a colony of Spaniards, who, by maintaining a friendly intercourse with the natives, might learn their language and customs, and acquire such information of the wealth and situation of the different parts of the island, as could not fail turning out greatly to the advantage of Spain. This step he was the more encouraged to take, because many of his men voluntarily offered to stay, and the cacique, far from taking umbrage at their neighbourhood, considered them as valuable allies, who  
would

would protect them from the invasions of the Caribbee Indians, a savage race of Canibals, by whom his subjects were frequently killed and devoured.— In order to evince the importance of his friendship, he, in presence of this prince, whose name was Guacanagari, ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the wreck, through which the bullet penetrated, and fell into the water on the other side, to the amazement of the Indians, who believed that their guests were in possession of heaven's thunder, and earnestly implored their protection.

It was therefore seemingly in compliance with the cacique's request, that the admiral ordered a tower to be built of the timber of the wrecked vessel, and this being furnished with provision, ammunition, arms, and cannon, he manned it with a garrison of six and thirty men, under the joint command of James d'Arana, Peter Gutierrez and Roderick d'Eskovedo, whom he earnestly recommended to the favour and good offices of the king and his people. Having provided this fort with all necessaries, including the boat belonging to the ship that was lost, he resolved to return directly to Castile, lest some other misfortune happening to the only ship that now remained, might disable him for ever from giving their Catholic majesties information of the important discoveries he had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions. Having therefore made all the requisite preparations for the voyage, he set sail from the port of Nativity, where he had settled this first Christian colony, on Friday the 4th day of January at sun-rising, and standing to the north-west, to get clear of the shoal water, took such marks of the land as would enable him to know the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being contrary, he had made but little

way to the eastward, when on Sunday morning he fell in with the caraval Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who going on board, endeavoured to excuse his desertion, by saying he had lost sight of the admiral in the night, and alledging other frivolous reasons, the fallacy of which though Columbus plainly saw, he disguised his sentiments, rather than run any risque of prejudicing the common cause, by giving rise to a dangerous dissention; for, almost all the people engaged in this expedition were either relations or townsmen of Pinzon.

He had sailed to a river fifteen leagues to the eastward of the Nativity, where he spent sixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had obtained a large quantity, and distributed one half among his crew, in order to acquire popularity, as well as their consent to keep what remained for his own use: so that he carefully concealed his success from the knowledge of the admiral. After this transaction, he anchored at Monte Christo, a round hill like a pavilion, about eighteen leagues east of Cape Santo; but, the weather not permitting him to proceed, he went in his boat up a river to the south-west of the mount, and discovering some signs of gold dust in the sand, called it the River of Gold, being seventeen leagues to the eastward of the Nativity.

On Sunday January 13th, being near Cape Enamorado, the admiral sent his boat ashore, where there stood some Indians with fierce countenances, armed with bows and arrows, making a shew of opposition, tho' they seemed to be in great consternation. However, by the mediation of the Salvador linguist, they were brought to a kind of conference, and one of them venturing to go on board of the admiral, appeared so ferocious, both in his speech and aspect, which was smutted with charcoal,  
that



that the Spaniards concluded he was one of the Caribbee Canibals, and that the bay parted this place from Hispaniola: but, when the admiral inquired about the country of the Caribbees, he pointed with his finger to an island farther east, and gave him to understand that there was another near it, wholly inhabited by women with whom the Caribbees conversed at a certain season of the year, and carried off all the male children that sprung from their embraces. Having answered all these interrogations, partly by signs and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was entertained with victuals, and set ashore, with presents of glass beads, and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring down gold to barter.—At the place where he was landed, there was a sort of ambuscade of fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers; who being armed with bows and arrows, and great cudgels in lieu of swords, refused to carry on any trade with the Spaniards, notwithstanding the exhortations of their friend, but, on the contrary, treated them with scorn, and even began to commit hostilities. The Christians, who were but seven in all, seeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and charging them with great intrepidity, cut one with a sword on the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast, to the terror and discomfiture of the whole party, who forthwith turned their backs and fled, leaving their bows and arrows on the spot; and many of them would certainly have been killed, had not the pilot of the caraval interposed in their behalf. The admiral was not displeased at this skirmish, which he thought would inspire the Indians with such high notions of the valour of the Christians, as would hinder them from making any attempts to the prejudice of the settlement at the

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Nativity: for, he did not doubt that all the inhabitants of the island would soon hear, how seven Spaniards had attacked, and routed above fifty of their most warlike natives.

Their bows were of yew, and very near as large as those used in France and England, and the arrows made of small straight solid twigs, about a yard in length, armed with fish-bone smeared with poison; so that the admiral gave to this gulph, which the Indians called Samana, the name of Golfo de Flechas, that is the Gulph of Arrows. Here they saw abundance of fine cotton, and axi, which is a very pungent kind of pepper, much in request among the natives; and on the shore grew a vast quantity of those weeds they had seen floating in the sea, during their passage from the Canaries.

On Wednesday January 16th, both caravals being in a leaky condition, the admiral set sail for Spain from the gulph of Samana, and Cape St. Elmo was the last land they saw. When they had run about forty leagues to the north-east, the sea seemed to be covered with small tunny fishes, abundance of which they saw for two or three days successively, together with great numbers of sea fowl. Continuing their course with a fair wind, they made so much way, that on the 9th day of February, in the opinion of the pilots, they were south of the islands Azores; but by the admiral's account, they were short of them 150 leagues; and he was in the right: for, they still saw abundance of those weeds which they had not discovered in their passage to the West-Indies, until they were 263 leagues to the westward of Ferro.

After having hitherto enjoyed a favourable gale, the wind began to rise, and the sea to run mountains high; and they were overtaken by such a tempest on the 14th of February, that they could

not

not work their vessels, which were tossed about at the mercy of the storm. The caraval Pinta being incapable of sailing upon a wind, run away due north before it, and in the night lost sight of the admiral, who steered north-east in order to fetch the coast of Spain. In consequence of this separation, the company of each caraval concluded that the other had perished, and betaking themselves to acts of devotion, it fell to the admiral's lot to go a pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of Guadaloupe; one of the seamen was destined to go to Loretto, and another to watch a whole night at St. Olave of Moguer: in a word, the fury of the wind and sea still encreasing, the whole company joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their shirts to some church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, upon the first land that should receive them. Their situation was rendered still more deplorable by the scarcity of provision, and the want of ballast, by which the ship was in danger of being overset. To remedy this inconvenience, the admiral ordered his casks to be filled with seawater, and that his discovery might have some chance of being known, whatever might be the fate of him and his people, he wrote a brief account of it upon two skins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil cloths, covered with wax, and put into separate casks, which he threw into the sea after their bungs were well secured: hoping that one or other might be taken up by some European vessel.

Before this storm had in the least abated, on Friday the 15th of February, at break of day, one of the sailors from the round top discovered land to the east-north-east, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Lisbon, though the admiral supposed it to be one of the Azores: but the weather being unruly and the wind blowing off shore, they disco-



vered another, which proved to be St. Mary, where they made shift to anchor on Monday, though not without great labour and difficulty, the admiral being lame of both legs, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone. The inhabitants of this island, who came on board with some fresh provisions, and many compliments from the governor, who lived at the town which was at a great distance, were amazed at the success of the expedition, and seemed to rejoice at the discovery of Columbus. They were likewise surprized to see he had outlived the storm, which, according to their account, had lasted fifteen days without intermission; and as they said, there was in this neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the admiral and crew resolved to perform their vow by walking thither barefoot, especially as the people and governor expressed such affection, and belonged to a prince in amity with their Castilian majesties.

He therefore sent the caraval's boat ashore, with one half of the company, to fulfil his penance, with orders to return immediately, that the rest might succeed them in the same sort of devotion: but, they had no sooner undressed themselves and begun their procession, than they were attacked and made prisoners by the governor, and a number of people who had lain in ambush for that purpose. Columbus having waited in vain, from day-break till noon, for the return of the boat, began to suspect foul play, and as he could not, where he lay, discover the hermitage, he sailed round a point from whence he could see it, and perceived a good many Portuguese on horseback alight and enter the boat, with intent, as he supposed, to attack the caraval. He therefore ordered his men to be upon their guard, and was not without hope that the commander would come on board, in which case he would have detained him as an hostage:  
but

but as the Portuguese would not advance beyond a certain distance, the admiral demanded their reason for committing such an outrage upon his men, who had gone ashore upon the faith of a safe conduct, and gave him to understand that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at such behaviour to the subjects of their catholic majesties, with whom he was in alliance. To this remonstrance, the Portuguese captain answered, that what they had done was by the express order of the king; so that Columbus imagining there was a breach between the two crowns, called all his people to bear witness to what they had heard, and directing his discourse to the Portuguese, swore he would never quit the caraval, until he should have taken 100 Portuguese, and destroyed the whole island. Mean while he returned to the port he had left, but next day the wind increasing, and his riding being unsafe, he lost his anchors, and was obliged to stand out to sea towards the island of St. Michael, tho' not without being exposed to great danger, as he had but three able seamen left, the rest being boys, Indians and landmen, who understood nothing of sea affairs.—Next day, the weather being mild, he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on Thursday 21<sup>st</sup>, in the afternoon, and soon after his arrival, the boat came off with five men and a notary, who upon proper security went on board, and desired to know, in the governor's name, whence the ship came, and whether or not the admiral had the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they went ashore, and released the Spaniards, who had been informed that the king of Portugal had sent orders to all his governors, to secure, if possible, the person of the admiral; and that, as this scheme did not succeed, they had dismissed the prisoners whom they had taken.

Columbus having recovered his men, departed from the island of St. Mary, on Sunday the 24th of February, being in great want of wood and ballast, though the wind was favourable. On the 3d of March they were exposed to another tempest, attended with lightning and thunder, during which their sails were split; and they vowed another pilgrimage to our lady de Cinta at Guelva: they now ran under their bare poles through a terrible sea, and had well nigh been lost on the rock of Lisbon, which they accidentally discovered at midnight: this they weathered with great difficulty; and next day being obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, the admiral sent away an express to their catholic majesties with the news of his arrival; and another to the king of Portugal, asking leave to anchor before the city, as he did not think himself safe in his present situation.

On Tuesday March 5th, the master of a great guardship came, with a boat full of armed men along side of the admiral, whom he required to go and give an account of himself to the king's officers, according to the practice of all ships that entered that river. To this summons Columbus replied, that as the king of Spain's admiral, he would not degrade himself so far as to comply with any such custom, nor would he send the most inconsiderable person belonging to his ship upon an errand of that nature. The Portuguese finding him resolute, desired he would shew him the king of Spain's letter, that he might so far satisfy his captain; and this request being complied with, he returned to his ship, and made a suitable report to his commander Alvaro de Acunha, who forthwith came on board the caraval, attended with fises, drums, and trumpets, and welcomed the admiral with many expressions of friendship and good-will. The nature of the voyage was no sooner known at



Lisbon, than multitudes of people came to see the Indians, and learn the particulars of this amazing discovery, insomuch that the whole river was covered with boats crowded with people, some of whom praised God for the success of Columbus, while others bitterly cursed the hard fate of their nation, which had lost such a prize through their king's avarice or incredulity.

This prince having received the admiral's letter, ordered his officers to present him with all sorts of refreshment and necessaries, gratis; at the same time, he wrote to Columbus, congratulating him upon his happy return, and desiring to see him before he should leave his dominions: Columbus at first scrupled to accept of this invitation; but, considering that the king of Portugal was at peace with his sovereigns, and had treated him with uncommon hospitality and regard, he resolved to wait upon his Portuguese majesty, who then resided about nine leagues from Lisbon, at a palace called Valparaiso, where the admiral arrived on Saturday night, being the 9th day of March. The king ordered all the nobility of the court to go out and meet him: when he was conducted to the presence, he insisted upon his putting on his cap and sitting down; and having with seeming pleasure heard the particulars of the voyage, offered to supply him with every thing he wanted, tho' he could not help observing, that the conquest of right belonged to him, in as much as Columbus had been once in the service of Portugal. The admiral modestly gave his reasons for being of a contrary opinion; to which the king replied, "It was very well; he did not doubt but justice would be done." This conversation being ended, he ordered the prior of Crato to entertain Columbus, who having staid all Sunday and part of Monday, took his leave, after having been treated by his majesty with great honour, and tempted,

ed, by very considerable offers, to reingage in his service. He was attended in his return by Don Martin de Noronha, and many other persons of rank; and as he passed by a monastery where the queen was, she desired to see him, and received his visit with great respect. That same night, a gentleman came from the king, to tell him, that if he was inclined to go to Castile by land, he would accompany and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. He declined this offer with suitable acknowledgements, and setting sail from the river of Lisbon on Wednesday March 13th, arrived on the Friday following at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, from whence he had departed on the 3d day of August in the preceding year.

On his landing, he was received by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his prosperous success, which, it was hoped, would redound so much to the advantage of Christianity, and the grandeur of their catholick majesties. By this time Pinzon had arrived in Galicia, and designed to carry in person the news of the discovery to court, when he received orders forbidding him to come without the admiral, under whose command he had been sent on the expedition. This mortifying repulse made such an impression upon him, that he fell sick; and returning to his native place, in a few days died of grief and vexation.


Mean while Columbus set out for Sevil, in his way to Barcelona, where there majesties at that time resided; and the roads were crowded by all sorts of people, who flocked together to see him and the Indians in his train. About the middle of April he arrived at Barcelona, where he was received in the most solemn manner by the whole court and city: their catholick majesties, who sat in publick upon rich chairs, under a canopy of cloth of gold, stood

up when he approached to kiss their hands, caused him to be seated in their presence, and treated him as a grandee of the first order, who had done the most important service to his country: nay, so highly favoured was he for his merit and success, that when the king rode about Barcelona, Columbus was always at his side, an honour which had never been conferred before upon any but the princes of the blood.

Nor was their regard confined to unsubstantial forms; he was gratified with new patents, enlarging, explaining, and confirming the privileges which he had before obtained; and extending his viceroyalty and admiralship over all the countries he had discovered, as well as those he should discover: for it was resolved that he should return to the West Indies with a powerful armament to support the colony he had settled, and proceed with other discoveries: and in the mean time they solicited and procured from pope Alexander VI. an exclusive title to all the lands they should find and subdue in that direction, as far as the East Indies.

The





## The Second Voyage of COLUMBUS.

**A**LL the necessary measures being taken at court, for the success of his second expedition, admiral Columbus departed for Sevil, where he exerted himself with such diligence, that in a little time seventeen vessels of different sizes were ready to sail, well stored with provisions and other necessaries, for the improvement of the Indian colonies. Many handicraftsmen and labourers were engaged for this service, while the thirst of gold, and the success of the first adventurers, drew together such a swarm of volunteers, that he found it absolutely necessary to reject a great number, until another opportunity should offer, and for the present restrict himself to fifteen hundred persons of all sorts, who actually embarked on this undertaking.

Having taken on board some horses, asses, and other animals, which multiplied, and were afterwards of great use in the plantations, and being well furnished with all sorts of utensils and commodities for trade, the admiral sailed from the road of Cadiz, where the fleet was equipped, on the 25th of September 1493, an hour before sun-rising, and stood south-west for the Canary islands, where he intended to take in some refreshment. On the 28th, being 100 leagues from Spain, they saw abundance of land-fowl, such as turtle-doves and other small birds, passing from the Azores to winter in Africa. On Wednesday October 2d, he anchored at Gran Canaria, and at midnight sailed again for Gomara, where he arrived on the 5th day of October, and gave orders for supplying the ships with all possible dispatch.

His

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His directions being followed, he, on the 7th of October, took his departure for the Indies, after having delivered sealed orders to every ship, not to be opened unless they should be separated from him by stress of weather. They ran 400 leagues west of Gomara with a prosperous gale, and were surprized that they did not meet with any of those weeds which they had in their first voyage seen before they had made much more than half that way. On Saturday the 26th, at night, the seamen perceived upon the round top, those lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to whom they sing litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger will ensue, let the storm be never so violent.

On Saturday the 2d of November, in the evening, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the winds and sky, that poured down a deluge of rain, concluded he was near some land; and almost all the sails being taken in, ordered the crew to keep a sharp look-out. This was far from being a groundless precaution; for, as soon as day began to break, they descried, about seven leagues to the westward, a high mountainous island, which the admiral named Dominica, because it was discovered on Sunday morning. Much about the same time, they spied three other islands; and the people assembling on the poop, sung the *salve regina*, and returned thanks to God for their wonderful success, in having sailed near 800 leagues in the space of twenty days. There being no convenient place for anchoring on the east side of Dominica, they stood over to another, which the admiral called Marigalante, after his own ship; and there landing, he, with the usual solemnity, confirmed the possession he had formerly taken of all the islands and continent of the West-Indies for the king and queen of Spain.

On

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On Monday November 4th, he sailed from hence northward by another great island, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in consequence of a promise he had made to the friars belonging to the convent of that name: at the distance of two leagues from this shore, they perceived a very high rock, ending in a point, from whence gushed a large stream of water, which fell with prodigious noise. Some men being sent a-shore in the boat, went up to a sort of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except some children, to whose arms the Spaniards tied a few bawbles, in token of friendship. They saw geese like those of Europe, abundance of very large parrots, pompions, and pine apples growing wild, of exquisite taste and flavour. They likewise saw different kinds of strange fruits, cotton, hammocks, bows and arrows, and other things, which they left untouched, that the owners might have the better opinion of their morals. Next day the admiral sent two boats a-shore, with orders to take, if possible, some of the natives, from whom they might obtain some important information; and they returned with two young men, who said they were of another island, and taken prisoners by the inhabitants of Guadaloupe. The boats going ashore again for some of the people whom they had left, found six women who had fled to them, and desired to be carried on board; these the admiral presented with beads and bells, and dismissed, much against their inclinations; and they were no sooner landed, than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments, in sight of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, these poor creatures leaped into the boat, imploring protection from the cruelty of the islanders, who, they signified, had eaten their husbands, and kept themselves in slavery. They were therefore brought aboard the admiral, whom they gave to understand, that there were towards the south



fourth many islands, and a large continent, from which, in former times, canoes had come to barter: and they pointed out the situation of Hispaniola; whither he would have steered without delay, had he not been informed, that one Mark a captain had, without his leave, gone a-shore before day, with eight men, and was not yet returned; so that he was obliged to stay and send people in quest of him, with trumpets and muskets, the noise of which might be heard through the woods, that were almost impassible. However, this search proving fruitless, he sent another detachment of forty men, under captain Hoieda, with orders to range through the country, and make observations on its productions. They found mastick, aloes, sanders, ginger, frankincense, some trees that resembled cinnamon in taste and smell, and abundance of cotton: they saw falcons, kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geese and nightingales; and affirmed, that in travelling six leagues they crossed six and twenty rivers, several of which were very deep: this however, must have been a mistake, into which, in all probability, they were led by the ruggedness of the country, that compelled them to cross the same river a great many different times.

While they were employed in this excursion, the stragglers returned to their ship of their own accord, and said, they had been bewildered in the woods; but the admiral punished their presumption, by ordering the captain to be put in irons, and the rest to be curtailed in their allowance of provision. This example being made, he himself landed, and entered some of the Indian houses, where he found a great deal of cotton, spun and unspun, together with abundance of human skulls and bones hung up in baskets: and he observed that the natives here were better accommodated with lodging, necessaries, and provision,

provision, than those of the islands which he had visited in his first voyage.

On Sunday, November 10th, he weighed anchor, and sailed with the whole fleet towards the north-west in quest of Hispaniola, passed an island he called Monserrate, on account of its height, the inhabitants of which, as he learned from the Indians, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees; coasted along St. Mary Redonda, so named from its round figure; sailed by Sta. Maria la Antigua, extending to above twenty-eight leagues; and holding on his course saw, to the north-west and south-east, several other high and woody islands, in one of which, intituled St. Martin, he came to an anchor, and when they weighed, pieces of coral were found sticking on the flukes. On Thursday, November 13th, he anchored again on account of bad weather, at another island, where he ordered some Indians to be taken, that they might inform him of his true situation. Accordingly four women and three children being kidnapped by the boat's crew, they put off from shore, and in their way to the ship met with a canoe, in which were four men and one woman, who perceiving they could not make their escape, put themselves in a posture of defence, and the female shot an arrow with such force and dexterity, that it actually went through a strong target. But the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, overset the canoe, so that they betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow in the water as dextrously as if he had been on dry land: all the males were eunuchs, who had been gelt by the Caribbees, as the capons are made in Europe, with a view to their improvement in fatness.

The admiral departing hence, continued his course west north-west, leaving to the northward fifty islands, the largest of which he called St. Ursula, and on the rest he bestowed the appellation of the Eleven thousand

thousand Virgins; then he anchored in a bay, on the west side of what he termed St. John Baptist, where the men caught skate, olaves, pilchards, and shad, and saw faulcons, and shrubs like wild vines: to the eastward of the bay they visited some well built houses, with a square in their front, from which was a spacious road down to the sea, flanked on both sides with cane towers, the tops of which were curiously interwoven with greens; and at the end of it, next the sea, stood a lofty gallery or balcony, large enough to hold ten or twelve persons.

On Friday 14th, he arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north side of Hispaniola, where he sent on shore one of his Indians, who was a native of that part, and now being converted to the Christian faith, undertook for the submission of all his countrymen: from thence continuing his course to the town of the Nativity, he was at cape Angel visited by some Indians, who came aboard to barter; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his men discovered, near a river, two bodies of men with a rope made of a kind of broom about their necks, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in form of a cross; and this circumstance was looked upon as a bad omen, though it was impossible to discover whether they were Christians or natives of the country.

Next day, being the 26th, a number of Indians came aboard, with great confidence and appearance of friendship, and pronounced several Spanish words they had learned from the settlers, so that the admiral was eased of the apprehensions he had begun to conceive; as he could not imagine they would have behaved with such freedom and unconcern, had they been conscious to themselves of having injured the Christians. Next day, however, put an end to his doubts; for, when he anchored near the town of the Nativity, some Indians came along side in a canoe



canoe, and enquired for him by name, and being satisfied that he was there, went on board with two masks, and a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From these people he had the mortification to learn, that the greatest part of his settlers were dead, and the rest gone to other countries; and though he suspected foul play, he concealed his suspicions for the present, and that same night dismissed the messengers with some utensils of fatten and other bawbles for their prince.

When he entered the port of the Nativity, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation; the town was burnt to the ground, and not a soul appeared upon the beach; and when he sent some of his people on shore to gather tidings, they found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who seemed to have been a month dead. While he ruminated with sorrow and resentment on this unfortunate event, he was visited by Guacanagari's brother, who came down, attended by some Indians, and told him, that he had scarce set sail on his return to Spain, when those he had left behind began to quarrel among themselves, every man endeavouring to amass as much gold as he could find, and taking as many wives from among the natives as his appetite, or rather his extravagance, seemed to require; that Peter Gutierres and Escovedo having killed one Iago, had with nine others retired into the dominions of a cacique called Caunabo, lord of the mines, who put them all to death, and afterwards came down with a great number of men to destroy the town. At that time, James de Arana with ten men were left to guard the fort, the rest having dispersed themselves about the island; and Caunabo, who stole upon them by night, setting fire to their houses, they fled into the sea, where eight of them perished, and the other three were slain on shore, while Guacanagari himself, who had joined the Spaniards, was obliged to fly, after hav-

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ing received a dangerous wound, by which he was then confined to his house, so that he could not wait upon the admiral according to his inclination. This story exactly agreeing with the intelligence he received from some Spaniards, who had been sent up the country to reconnoitre, and had actually seen Guacanagari at his own house, the admiral paid him a visit next day, and was received with all the appearance of cordiality and concern: the cacique repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned sorrow, shewed his own wound and those of his men, which had been received in defence of the Christians, and appeared to have been made with Indian weapons; and the compliments of condolence being past, he presented him with eight strings of small beads, composed of white, green, and red-stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of the same metal, and three small calabashes, full of gold dust, weighing about two pounds. In return for these valuable presents, the admiral gave him toys to the amount of three reals, or eighteen pence, which he prized at a very high rate. Though he was extremely ill, he insisted on accompanying his guest to the fleet, where he was courteously entertained, and very much surprized at sight of some horses; and he was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which he at first had made some scruple to embrace.

The admiral being disgusted at this place, which had been the scene of so many disasters to him and his people, and knowing that in the neighbourhood there were more commodious places for a settlement, sailed to the eastward with the whole fleet, on Saturday December 7th, and next day came to an anchor among the small islands of Monte Christo, which, though destitute of trees, are nevertheless pleasant; for in that winter season they abounded with flowers, nests full of young birds, and every other production  
of

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of summer. Weighing, however, he sailed from hence, and anchored before an Indian town, where he resolved to plant a colony.

With this view, all the men designed for settlers, together with provision and proper utensils, were landed in a plain, where he built a tower called *Isabella*, in honour of the queen. This was judged a very convenient spot, because it was under a rock on which a fort might be erected: the harbour was very large, and at the distance of a bow-shot ran a river of delicate water, from which canals might be drawn through the middle of the town: and beyond it lay an extensive open plain, from which, the Indians said, the mines of *Ceboá* were not very distant. From the 11th day of December the admiral was eagerly employed in regulating this settlement, which being tolerably well adjusted, he sent *Alonso de Hoieda*, with fifteen men, in quest of the gold mines; and on the 2d day of February he dismissed twelve ships of his fleet to *Castile*, under the command of *Capt. Antonio de Torres*. *Hoieda* soon returned, and gave the following account of his expedition. On the second day he lay at the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain; at the distance of every league he found a cacique, by whom he was hospitably received; and continuing his journey, arrived on the sixth day at the mines of *Ceboá*, where he actually saw the Indians take up gold from a small river, as they afterwards did from many others of the same province. This information was extremely agreeable to the admiral, who was just recovered from a fit of illness, occasioned by fatigue; and on Wednesday March 12th he set out from *Isabella* for *Cebao*, attended by all the people who were in health, on foot and a horseback, except a strong guard which he left in the two ships, and three caravals, that remained under the command of his brother *James Columbus*. This precaution he took in  
consequence



consequence of a conspiracy which he had detected on board, headed by one Bernarde de Pifa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their catholick majesties. He took the opportunity of the admiral's disorder, to tamper with some of the men who were disappointed of the gold which they expected to find without the least trouble, and dissatisfied with the regulations of the new settlement; and formed the design of revolting from the admiral, and seizing the ships, in which he purposed to return to Spain: but the combination being discovered, Columbus secured the ringleader, until he should have an opportunity of sending him home to undergo his trial; and having taken proper measures for preventing such a mutiny for the future, departed for Ciboia, with necessaries to build a fort in that province, for the security of those who should be left to gather gold among the Indians. That he might the more intimidate and awe these savages, he made a parade of all his people, whom he ordered to march through their villages in rank and file, with their arms and accoutrements, trumpets sounding, and colours flying. He took his route along the river that runs by Isabella, crossed another not so large, and lay in a pleasant plain, extending to the foot of a craggy hill; and forming a pass, which he called Puerto de los Hidalgos, or of the Gentlemen, because some gentlemen had gone before to widen the road; for the Indians never make a path that will allow above one man to pass at a time. Next day he entered a large plain, in which he travelled five leagues, and spent the night near a great river, which the men crossed on floats and in canoes: this, which he named the river of Canes, falls into the sea at Monte Christo. In his march he passed by many Indian towns, composed of round thatched houses, the doors of which were so small, that no person could enter without stooping very low.

The inhabitants seemed to have every thing in common, and had no notion of private property among the Christians; for they attempted to take from the Spaniards any thing which they chanced to like, and were surpris'd at meeting with a repulse. The whole way was diversified with pleasant mountains covered with wild vines, aloes, cassia, and that tree which is said to produce the scammony.

On Friday, March 14th, the admiral set forwards from the River of Canes; and having proceeded a league and an half, arrived at the banks of another, which he named the river of Gold, because here they gathered some dust and grains of that metal. He passed this large body of water with some difficulty, on the other side of which he found a large town, and all the houses shut against him by the inhabitants, who had barred their doors with canes, which they look upon as an impregnable defence. This night he lay on the bank of another fine river, which he christened the Green River; and continuing his journey next day, passed by some great towns, fortified like that which we have already mentioned: by this time the men began to be tired with the fatigue of travelling, and he chose his night's lodging at the foot of a rugged mountain, which he denominated port Cibao, because here the province of that name begins. From hence he sent back some mules to Isabella for a fresh supply of provision; and these being returned, he on the 16th day of March entered the province of Cibao, which, though rough and stony, yields plenty of grass, and is watered with several rivers abounding with gold, which is washed down from the mountains: but in this whole province, which is as large as Portugal, there are few or no trees, except on the banks of the rivers, where some pines and palms are found.

This country being very craggy, and at a good distance from Isabella, which lay eighteen leagues

to the northward, he ordered a fort to be built in a very strong, though pleasant situation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Christian adventurers. This, which he called the castle of St. Thomas, was garrisoned by fifty six men, under the command of Peter Margarite, and among these were workmen of all sorts, to finish and repair the fort, which was built with clay and timber, of force sufficient to withstand the attempts of any number of Indians who might come against it.

The admiral having given proper directions touching the support of this work, set out on his return for Isabella, and was met by numbers of the natives who came to sell their provisions, which chiefly consisted of garlick, and a sort of bread: and on Sunday, March 29th, he arrived at his new colony, where he found melons already fit to eat, tho' the seeds had not been above two months in the ground. Cucumbers came to perfection in twenty days; and a wild vine of the country, being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes. Next day, being the 30th, a peasant gathered ears of wheat, which he had sown in the latter end of January: vetches, improved in the soil, produced a ripe crop in twenty five days after they were sown. The stones of fruit spouted out in seven days; the vine branches put forth in the same time, yielding green grapes in five and twenty days, and sugar canes budded in the like space. So that the admiral was perfectly well pleased with the climate, the soil, and the water, which was extremely pure, cool, wholesome and palatable.

On Tuesday, April 1st, a messenger arrived from St. Thomas, with intelligence, that the cacique Caunabo was employed in making preparations for attacking the fort: and though Columbus paid but little regard to this report, because he knew how little the natives were to be feared, especially as they



were so much terrified by the horses, that they durst not venture to approach those animals; nevertheless, as he intended to go to sea with his three caravals, in order to discover the continent, he resolved to leave every thing quiet behind; and for that purpose sent a reinforcement of seventy men to the fort, the greatest part of whom had orders to make the road more passable, and find out the fords of the rivers. Mean while he completed his town, which was laid out in regular streets, with a convenient market-place, and supplied it with the river water, conveyed through an artificial canal. He likewise erected a water-mill to grind wheat, as his people were not yet accustomed to the food of the natives; and provisions beginning to fail, he determined to send all the superfluous mouths to Spain, and leave upon the island no more than three hundred men, which he deemed a number sufficient to keep that country in subjection to their catholick majesties. This step he was the rather induced to take, because the climate disagreed with many, who were in a sick and languishing condition: as for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, he sent them out to traverse the island, that they might reconnoitre the ground, accustom themselves to the Indian diet, and strike a terror into the inhabitants: they were commanded by Hojeda, who had orders to march into Cibao, and deliver them to Peter Margarite, who should lead them round the island, while he (Hojeda) should command the fort of St. Thomas.

On Wednesday, April 29th, they departed from Isabella, to the number of four hundred; and, having crossed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, together with his brother, Hojeda sent in irons to the admiral, after he had ordered the ears of one of his subjects to be cut off in the market-place of his town. This punishment they  
incurred

incurred for an outrage they had committed against the Christians, three of whom, in their way from St. Thomas to Isabella, having been by this cacique accommodated with five Indians as porters to carry their cloaths, were no sooner come to the middle of the river, than those honest carriers ran away with the baggage, and the cacique, instead of punishing them for the theft, refused to restore the booty, which he converted to his own use.

Another cacique, who dwelt beyond the river, relying upon the service he had done to the Spaniards, accompanied the prisoners to Isabella, in order to intercede in their behalf with the admiral, who entertained him courteously; and in order to enhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out to execution. The mediator seeing them in this perilous situation, shed a flood of tears, and begged their lives might be spared, with the most earnest entreaties; in consequence of which they were pardoned and dismissed. Immediately after their release, a man on horseback, just arrived from St. Thomas's, told the admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the cacique who had been prisoner, he had singly rescued four Spaniards, whom the Indians had taken by way of reprisals, and chased above four hundred people, who fled at the very sight of his horse.

The ships being fitted out for a new expedition, Columbus appointed a council to govern the island in his absence, consisting of his brother James as president, F. Boyle, and Peter Fernandez Coronell as regents, with Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal rector of Basca, and John de Luxan of Madrid, gentlemen to their catholick majesties. Then he sailed to the port of Guacanagari, who fled at his approach. On Saturday, April 26th, he touched at the island of Tortuga, where, on account of the

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currents,

currents, he was obliged to come to an anchor, and stay till Tuesday 29th, when favoured by a fair wind, he reached Cape St. Nicholas, from whence standing over to Cuba, he ran along the south side of that island, and put into a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water. Here, while he lay at anchor, his men caught abundance of oysters and other fish; and afterwards, while he continued his course along the coast, a great number of the Indians came aboard in their canoes, with presents of bread, water, and fish, for which they thought themselves greatly overpaid with a few bells, beads, and other such trifles.

On Saturday, May 3d, the admiral sailed for Jamaica, where he was told there was great plenty of gold, and upon Monday anchored in that island, which he thought the most beautiful of any he had yet seen, as well as the most populous: for, an astonishing multitude of natives came on board in canoes of different sizes, to barter provisions, which they exchanged for the most inconsiderable toys. Next day, as he coasted along, the boats being sent to sound the mouths of some harbours, were surrounded by canoes full of armed men, who seemed bent upon committing acts of hostility; so that the Spaniards, who resolved to enter Puerto Bueno, saluted them with a flight of arrows, by which six or seven were wounded, and the rest so intimidated that they fled with precipitation. In this harbour, the figure of which resembles a horseshoe, the admiral's ship was repaired, and the leak being stopped, he on Tuesday 14th stood over again to Cuba, with full resolution to know whether it was really an island or a continent. The same day a very young Indian of Jamaica coming on board, desired to accompany the admiral to Spain; and tho' many of his kindred and countrymen came, with tears in their eyes, earnestly entreating him to return,



turn, he persisted in his resolution, and the admiral gave orders he should be treated with civility.

On Wednesday he reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz; and as he coasted along, he was overtaken by a terrible storm, attended with thunder and lightning, which was the more dangerous as he was entangled among flats and currents, which hindered him from taking in his sails. That whole sea, to the north and north-east, is interspersed with a vast number of little, low, sandy islands, some of which scarce appear above the surface of the water, and render the navigation very difficult. True it is the nearer they sailed to Cuba, the higher and pleasanter these islands appeared; and as it would have been a tedious task to bestow a name upon every particular, he stiled them by the lump, the Queen's Garden. The next day they seemed to multiply on all hands, insomuch that the men reckoned one hundred and sixty, parted from each other by navigable channels, through some of which the ships sailed. On these they saw a great number of cranes red as scarlet; abundance of tortoises or turtle, and their eggs, which they leave in the sand to be hatched by the sun: they likewise perceived crows, like those in Spain, and an infinite number of little birds that sung harmoniously. The very air was as sweet as if it had been impregnated with the scent of roses, and all other vegetable perfumes.

In one of those channels, they found a canoe with fishermen, who seeing the boat approach, made signs to the Spaniards to be upon their oars, until they had performed their operation, which was very singular and curious. They had tied a string round the tails of some small fishes called *reves*, that are taught to encounter other fish, to which they cling so fast, by means of a certain roughness and viscosity in their skin, that the fishermen draw them up together: upon this occasion they caught a tortoise;

and the reve was wound about its neck, where they generally fasten to secure themselves from the teeth of their game; and in this manner they will sometimes attack sharks of the largest size. The Indians having drawn their line very quietly, went on board of the admiral, and presented the fish which they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles, and held on his course: tho' he now began to be in want of provisions, and his health was very much impaired by fatigue and want of rest, which he would not venture to enjoy amidst such a number of unknown islands, which every night produce a great fog to the eastward, accompanied with thunder and lightning, tho' it vanishes as soon as the moon is risen. During the night, the wind generally blows off shore, but in the day it is almost always easterly, and seems to follow the sun in its diurnal course.

On Thursday, May 22d, the admiral landed on an island somewhat larger than the rest, which he called St. Mary, and entered a town abandoned by the inhabitants, where he found nothing but fish, and some dogs that resembled mastiffs. Then he directed his course north-east, where he was still perplexed and fatigued, by sailing and sounding among an astonishing number of flats and islands; because, in spite of all his precautions in sounding and keeping a good look-out, the ship was often a-ground, and there was no possibility of avoiding this inconvenience: this consideration, joined to those we have already mentioned, obliged him to relinquish his design of sailing east about until he should return to Spain.

Being now in want of water, he touched again at Cuba, and one of his sailors going up among the trees with a cross-bow in search of game, saw about thirty people armed with spears and staves, called Macanas, and among them a person clad in a white coat

coat or vest that reached down to his knees, and carried by two men in long garments of the same stuff, all three being as white as Spaniards: but he had no conversation with them; because, seeing such a number, he called to his companions, and the Indians ran away without looking back. Next day the admiral sent people on shore to know the truth of this report, but the woods and bogs were so impassable that they could not proceed in their inquiry.

About ten leagues to the westward of this place, they saw houses, from which the natives came in canoes, with water, and such food as they eat; and one of them was detained as an interpreter by the admiral, who promised to dismiss him in safety as soon as he should have given him proper directions for his voyage, and a distinct account of the country. The Indian was satisfied with his promise, and gave him to understand that Cuba was an island; that the king or cacique of the western part never spoke to his subjects, but made certain signs, in consequence of which all his orders were performed; and that all the coast was very low, and surrounded by small islands. Next day, June 11th, the admiral being inclosed between two of these, was obliged to tow the ships over a flat, where there was not above one foot of water: and bearing up closer to Cuba, they saw very large tortoises, in such numbers, that they actually covered the sea. Next day the sun was darkened by a cloud of sea-crows, that came from seaward, and lighted upon the island, where they likewise saw abundance of pigeons and other birds; and afterwards, such swarms of butterflies, that the day was obscured from morning till night, when they were carried away by a deluge of rain.

On Friday, June 13th, the admiral being in want of wood and water, anchored in the island Evan-



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gelista, about thirty leagues in compass; and having provided the ships with what they wanted, directed his course southward, in hopes of finding another passage: but, after having sailed a few leagues through what seemed to be a channel, he saw himself embayed, and was obliged to return as he entered. Hence he sailed on the 25th, towards some small islands that appeared to the north-west; not far from which the sea seemed in different places to be of various colours, owing, in all probability, to the shallow water, and nature of the bottom seen through it. Thence returning to the coast of Cuba, he stood to the eastward with scant winds, and on the 30th day of June, while he was writing his journal, the ship ran a-ground so fast, that she could not be got off without great difficulty and some damage; and, besides the trouble of navigating through shoal water and narrow channels, he was exposed to great inconvenience from vast quantities of rain that fell every evening.

On July 7th he landed to hear mass, and was visited by an old cacique of that province, who listened very attentively to the service, and afterwards signified his belief of the existence of a supreme Being, who rewards virtue and punishes vice in a future state: he was acquainted with some of the chiefs in Hispaniola, had been in Jamaica, and at the west end of Cuba, where the cacique was clad like a priest.

On Wednesday, July 16th, the admiral put to sea, tho' very much incommoded by the rains and winds, which, as he approached Cape Cruz, suddenly increased to such a storm, that the ships were almost overset before the sails could be furled, and they shipped so much water, that the men were scarce able to keep them clear by pumping, so much were they reduced by fatigue and want of provisions: a man's allowance being stinted to a pound

of rotten bisket, and half a pint of wine per day, which the admiral himself did not exceed. In this distress, he, on the 18th of July, reached Cape Cruz, where he was very civilly entertained by the Indians, who supplied him with bread called cazabi, made of roots grated, abundance of fish, and store of pleasant fruit. Thus refreshed, he stood over to Jamaica on the 22d day of July, and coasting along to the westward, found it full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants, and judged it to be about 80 miles in compass.

The weather clearing up, he sailed to the eastward, and on Wednesday August 20th, making the south side of Hispaniola, called the first point Cape St. Michael, which is about thirty leagues distant from the most easterly part of Jamaica, and at present known by the name of Cape Tiburon. On Saturday 23d he was visited aboard by a cacique, who called him by his name, and pronounced some Spanish words; and about the latter end of the month he anchored in an island known by the name of Alto Velo, after having lost sight of the other two ships that were under his command. Here the men killed eight seals that lay asleep on the shore, and took abundance of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccustomed to the cruelty of the human species, stood still and allowed themselves to be knocked on the head with staves. At the end of six days, being joined by the missing ships, they stood for the island Beata, at the distance of twelve leagues from Alto Velo: thence coasting along Hispaniola, which exhibited a delightful prospect of a plain, running up a mile from the sea, so populous, that for a whole league it seemed to be one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which appeared a lake, five leagues in length from east to west. Here the natives came aboard in their canoes, and informed the admiral, that they had been visit-

ed by some Spaniards from Isabella, where all was well. He was very much pleased with this information, and immediately dispatched nine men across the island to his colony, with the news of his safe return, while he and his ships still sailed along the coast to the eastward. In this course he sent the boats for water, near a great town, from which the Indians came to oppose their landing, with bows and poisonous arrows, and produced some ropes, with which they threatened to bind the Christians: but as soon as the boats reached the shore, they laid down their arms, and asked for the admiral, to whom they made a tender of all they had.

Near this place, they saw in the sea a fish as big as a whale, with a great shell, like that of a tortoise, upon its neck: it bore its head, which was as large as an hoghead, above water, had a very long tail, resembling that of a tunny fish, and two large fins on the sides. From this, and other concurring signs, the admiral prognosticated a change of weather, and seeking some place where he might ride secure, it was his good fortune to discover an island near the east part of Hispaniola, called by the natives Adamanai: between this and Hispaniola he came to an anchor close under another small island, and observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest that lasted several days; so that he was obliged to lie in this situation till the 20th, not without great apprehension on account of the other vessels which could not get in: however, they weathered the storm and joined the admiral, who sailed on the 24th to the eastermost point of Hispaniola; from whence he passed over to a little island which the Indians call Mona, and in his passage from hence to St. John de Borriguen, he was, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone, seized with a pestilential and lethargic fever, which deprived him of his senses and memory. In this  
dilemma,



dilemma, it was resolved by his people to desist from the design he had formed, of discovering the Caribbees, and to return to Isabella, where they arrived in five days; and on the 29th of September the admiral retrieved the use of his reason, and his fever vanished, tho' his weakness lasted five months.

On his arrival at Isabella, he found his brother Bartholomew, who, in returning to Spain from the court of England, where his demands were granted, had been informed of Christopher's success, by Charles King of France, who supplied him with 100 crowns for the expence of his journey. Having received this intelligence, he made all the haste he could to overtake the admiral in Spain, but before he arrived in Sevil, his brother had sailed on his second voyage: however, he soon followed with three ships, the command of which was given to him by their catholic majesties. And now the admiral made him governor of the Indies, though this title occasioned some dispute; because the king and queen alledged, that Christopher had no power to grant such an office: nevertheless this difference was compromised, and his place confirmed under the title of adelantado, or lieutenant of the Indies.

Although the company and assistance of Bartholomew were of great comfort and service to the admiral, he was involved in infinite trouble and vexation, by the misconduct of Peter Margarite, which had produced a revolt among the Indians. This officer, instead of obeying the orders of Columbus, in traversing and reducing the island, with 360 foot and 14 horse, which were left under his command, he encamped in a great plain, called Vega Real, at the distance of ten leagues from Isabella, from whence he sent insolent letters, and even orders to the council, over which he wanted to domineer: but finding it impracticable to succeed in his design of usurping the supreme command, and dreading the  
return

return of the admiral, who would call him to an account for his behaviour, he embarked in the first ship bound for Spain, without having assigned any reason for his departure, or in any shape disposed of the men who were under his command; so that every person being at liberty to follow his own inclination, they dispersed themselves in the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed such outrages, as entirely alienated the affections of the Indians, and even induced them to lay schemes of revenge.

The cacique of La Madelena, whose name was Gualiguana, attacked small straggling parties, killed ten Spaniards, and set fire to an house in which were eleven sick people: the like cruelties were committed in other parts of the island, and a much greater number would have perished, had not the admiral returned in time to protect his colony; tho' he was very much chagrined to find that the Christians were mortally hated by the Indians, on account of their insolence and barbarity. Indeed they might have easily shaken off the Spanish yoke, had they united in their own defence: for there were four principal kings or caciques, namely Caunabo, Guacanagari, Behechico, and Guarconex, and upon each of these 70 or 80 petty lords depended; not that these vassals payed tribute, but were obliged, when called, to assist them in their wars and agriculture. Guacanagari continued a firm friend to the Christians; and, visiting the admiral at his return, declared he had been in no shape aiding or assisting to those who had injured the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, had protected and maintained one hundred of his people, and for that reason incurred the displeasure of the other kings. Behechico had killed one of his women, and another had been taken away by Caunabo; so that he implored the assistance of Columbus, to recover her who was  
alive,

alive, and revenge the other's death. The admiral had so often experienced the humanity and affection of this cacique, that he resolved to redress his wrongs, especially as it was his interest to foment and maintain dissention among the Indian chiefs, who, in being divided, would be the more easily subdued. In the mean time, some of the natives who had murdered his men, being apprehended, were punished with death, and others sent to Spain in four ships, which had come out in February, under the command of Anto de Torres.

On the 24th day of March 1495, Columbus, with Guacanagari, departed from Isabella, to prosecute the war against his Indian enemies, who were assembled to the number of one hundred thousand, while his forces did not exceed two hundred Christians, with twenty horses and as many dogs.

On the second day of his march, being in sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one half to his brother the lieutenant, that by attacking in two places at once, they might increase the terror and confusion of the Indians, who were scattered about the plains. Accordingly, the Spaniards having first thrown them into disorder, by a discharge of their cross-bows and muskets, fell in among them with their horses and dogs, charging with such fury, that the faint-hearted multitude were routed and fled different ways, with great precipitation. Many were slain in the pursuit, and a great number made prisoners; among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cacique confessed that he had killed twenty of the Christians, who had been left with Peter de Arana at the Nativity, and that his intention was to act in the same manner at the town of Isabella, which he had reconnoitered under colour of friendship. Such a confession, together with his being taken in actual rebellion, were matters of such



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such importance, that the admiral thought proper to send him and his whole family into Spain, where they might be used according to the pleasure of their Catholic majesties.

The Indians were so much intimidated by the victory which the Spaniards had obtained, and the captivity of Caunabo, that in the space of a year, the admiral, without drawing a sword, reduced the whole island to obedience, and imposed a quarterly tribute to be payed to the king and queen of Spain. Every inhabitant of Cibao above the age of fourteen, was taxed at a large horse-bell full of gold dust; and the rest at 25 pounds of cotton a head; and every one who had payed, was presented with a brass or tin ticket, that they might be distinguished from those who had failed in the payment. Thus every thing was settled to the satisfaction of all parties, and the people became so quiet and pacifick, that a single Spaniard could travel in safety over the whole Island, and be received every where with hospitality and regard: tho' by this time, the colony was, by the diseases of the climate, and change of diet, reduced to less than one third of the number which first landed at Isabella.

During this interval of peace, the Spaniards by conversing with the natives, became better acquainted with their manners and customs, and among other things, learned that the island produced copper, azure, amber, ebony, cedar, frankincense, a kind of bitter cinnamon, ginger, long pepper, and a great number of mulberry trees, which bear leaves all the year for the support of a silk manufacture — With regard to religion, the admiral himself writes, that every king or cacique, here as well as in the other islands and continent, has a detached house set apart for the lodging and service of certain wooden images called Cemís, before which they perform ceremonies and pray with  
great

great devotion. In each of these temples is a round table made in form of a dish, containing a certain kind of powder, which being laid on the head of the Cemi, the devotee snuffs it up through an hollow cane, consisting of two branches, repeating a sort of jargon which seems altogether unintelligible; and by this powder he is immediately intoxicated. Those images have different names, which, in all probability, belonged to the ancestors of the cacique who owns them; and some of them are in much higher reputation than others; so that a Cemi of character is frequently stolen. In the celebration of these rules, they carefully avoid the Christians, whom they will not suffer to enter the place of their devotion: tho' some Spaniards once rushed into the house, and immediately the Cemi began to cry aloud in the Indian language: for, the image being hollow, was supplied with a trunk, the farther end of which reached a dark corner of the apartment, where a man lay concealed among boughs and leaves, and spoke what was dictated by the cacique—The Christians soon comprehended and discovered the trick by kicking down the Cemi; and the cacique finding himself detected, earnestly begged they would not communicate the discovery to his subjects, otherwise he should not be able to keep them in obedience—Almost all these chiefs have likewise three stones which they and their people devoutly worship: one, they say, presides over the corn and grain, the other affects women in childbed, and the third influences the weather. When a sick Indian seems past recovery, he is strangled by order of the cacique, and either buried, burnt or embalmed, at the pleasure of his relations. Some being embowelled and dried, are laid in hammocks with bread and water at their heads, and others are deposited in a grot or den furnished with the same kind

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kind of provision. Caunabo being questioned about a future state, said, that after death he should go to a certain vale, where he should find his parents and predecessors, and eat, drink, and enjoy all the sensual pleasures in the highest perfection. The island of Hispaniola being now in a state of quiet submission, the colony of Isabella established, and three forts erected in different parts, for the security of the Spaniards, the admiral resolved to return to Castile to give an account of these transactions, and acquit himself of some slanderous accusations, which certain envious and malicious persons had laid against him and his brother. He therefore on Thursday, 10th March 1496, went on board with two hundred and twenty five Spaniards and thirty Indians, embarked in two caravals called the Santa Cruz and Nina, and sailing from Isabella early in the morning, began to ply to the eastward.

On Tuesday 22d, he weathered the most easterly point of the island, still continuing the same course, tho' the wind was in his teeth, till the 6th of April, when finding his provisions falling short, and his men weary and discouraged, he stood off more southerly towards the Caribbee islands, and on Saturday the 9th anchored at Marigalante. Next day he sailed to Guadaloupe, and sent ashore his boats, which being opposed by a number of women, who rushed out of a wood with bows and arrows; the Spaniards lying on their oars, ordered two of their Indian women to swim ashore, and tell the islanders that they wanted nothing but provisions, for which they would give them a valuable consideration — When the female warriors understood the demand of the Christians, they directed them to sail to the north side, where they would be supplied by their husbands: accordingly the ships coasting round the island, a great number of people came down to the shore, and let fly several flights of arrows



rows at the boats: but perceiving the Spaniards rowed towards the shore, they formed an ambuscade in the nearest woods, from whence, however, they were driven by the cannon of the ships; so that the houses and effects being abandoned, were pillaged and destroyed by the Christians, who being acquainted with the method, went to work and made a sufficient quantity of bread to supply their wants. In these Indian houses, which, contrary to the practice of the other islands, were square, they found large parrots, honey, wax, and iron, of which they had hatchets and looms for weaving their tents; and in one, they perceived a man's arm roasting on a spit.

While some of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral detached forty men to obtain some intelligence of the country, and next day they returned with ten women and three boys, among whom was the wife of a cacique, who had been taken by a Canary man, remarkably swift of foot. Notwithstanding his nimbleness, he could not have overtaken her, had not she, seeing him alone, turned back in full confidence of making him her prey. She accordingly seized and threw him upon the ground, and he certainly would have been stifled, had not some of his companions come to his assistance. These women, who are excessively fat and thick, swathe their legs with a piece of cotton from the ankle to the knee, and wear their hair long and loose flowing upon their shoulders, but no other part of their bodies is covered. The captive lady said, the island was inhabited by women only, and that among those who endeavoured to oppose the landing, there were but four men, who chanced to be there by accident; for, at certain times of the year, they came from other islands, to procreate the species. This is likewise the case in another island called Matrimonio, possessed

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essed by the same sort of Amazons, who seemed to be endued with masculine strength and a clearness of understanding which is not found among the men of that country; insomuch that, whereas other Indians reckon the day by the sun, and the night by the moon only, these women are acquainted with astronomy, and measure their time by the rising and setting of the stars.

The admiral having furnished his ships with a supply of bread, wood and water, set sail from Guadaloupe on Wednesday the 20th of April, after having gratified and sent on shore all the inhabitants, except the chief lady and her daughter, who chose to go to Spain along with Caunabo, who, though a cacique of Hispaniola, was a native of the Caribbees.

By the 20th of May, the ships being about 100 leagues west of the Azores, provisions began to fail, so that each man was restricted to an allowance of six ounces of bread, and something less than a pint of water per day; and the admiral found the Dutch compasses varied a point, while those of Genoa had very little variation.

On Wednesday June 8th, several days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, exactly according to the admiral's account, they made the land of Odenicra, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, which some mistook for the coast of Galicia, while others affirmed they were in the English channel; and by this time the scarcity on board was so great, that many of the people proposed to eat the Indians, and others were of opinion they should be thrown overboard, in order to lessen the consumption of the provision that remained. But both these cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who exerted his whole authority and address for the protection of these poor creatures; and next morning he was rewarded for his humanity, with

with the sight of land, which agreed so well with his prediction, that his men believed he was actually prophetic in sea-affairs.

The admiral being landed, set out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic majesties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their son prince John, with Margaret of Austria daughter of Maximilian the emperor. He presented the king and queen with samples of every peculiar production of the Indies, such as birds, beasts, trees, plants, instruments and utensils, together with several girdles and masks adorned with golden plates, and a large quantity of gold dust, with grains of that metal of various sizes, from the bigness of a vetch to that of a pigeon's egg.

Having afterwards vindicated his own conduct to the satisfaction of their majesties, he earnestly begged to be sent back with supplies to the colony which he had left in want of men and many necessaries; but notwithstanding all his solicitations, the court was so dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapsed before he could obtain a supply, which was sent in two ships commanded by Peter Fernandez Coronell. After his departure, Columbus continued at court, to negotiate the equipment of such a fleet as would be proper for him to conduct to the West-Indies: but this was long retarded by the negligence and mismanagement of the king's officers, and particularly of Don John de Fonseca archdeacon of Sevil, who being afterwards created bishop of Burgos, proved an inveterate enemy to the admiral, and was the chief of those in the sequel that brought him into disgrace with their Catholic majesties.



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## The Third Voyage of COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS having forwarded the expedition with the utmost care and industry, on the 30th of May 1498, set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, with six ships loaded with provisions and necessaries for the relief of the planters in Hispaniola, and with full resolution to discover the continent of Paria.

On the 7th of June he arrived at the island of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water: on the 9th he touched at Madeira, where he furnished himself with other refreshments; and on the 19th reached Gomera, where a French ship having taken three Spanish vessels, weighed and stood to sea with them, at sight of the squadron. The admiral was no sooner informed of this capture, than he ordered three of his ships to give chase; but they had made too much way to be overtaken: one of the prizes however, was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards whom the French had left on board, and who clapping their captors under the hatches, brought the vessel safely into port again.

From hence the admiral sailed for the island of Ferro, where he resolved to send three of his ships to Hispaniola, while he with the rest should sail towards the Cape de Verd islands, and from thence directly over to discover the continent. In consequence of this determination, he appointed Peter de Arana, Alonzo Sancher de Carvagal, and John Antonio Columbus his own kinsman, captains of the

the three ships bound for Hispaniola, with orders that each should command a week in his turn; and this disposition being made, the ships parted, each squadron upon its respective voyage.

On Wednesday June 25th, the admiral descried the island de Sal, and passing it, came to an anchor in another called Bona Vista, on which are six or seven houses for the accommodation of lepers who go thither to be cured. The Portuguese who had charge of the island, immediately went aboard the admiral to offer his service, and was gratified with a present of some provision, which was extremely acceptable, as they live very miserably on that barren soil. Columbus being desirous to know by what means the leprosy was cured in this place, he told him that the recovery of the diseased was effected by the temperature of the air, and feeding upon tortoises, with the blood of which they likewise anointed themselves externally. Hither these animals repair in vast numbers from the African shore, to lay their eggs in the sand, during the months of June, July and August, and are easily caught by being turned on their backs while they are asleep. This is the only employment or exercise used by the wretched lepers, who have no other sustenance; and there is neither tree nor spring in the island, so that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackish and unpalatable.

The charge of the whole spot is committed to one person, with four men under his directions, who are wholly employed in killing and salting goats to be sent to Portugal. Of these creatures there are such multitudes in the mountains, that in the course of one year they had sometimes killed to the value of four thousand ducats; and the whole stock were produced from eight goats, carried thither by  
the

the proprietor of the island, whose name was Roderick Alfonso.

On Saturday June 30th, the admiral sailed for the island of St. Jago, where he came to an anchor next day in the evening, and sent ashore to buy some cows and bulls, as a live stock for his plantation in Hispaniola: but finding he could not be furnished without some difficulty and delay, he would not stay in such an unhealthy place, which was always covered with a thick fog; and sailed on Thursday to the south-west, resolving to continue in that course, until he should be under the Line, and then steer due west, in search of some undiscovered country. He accordingly proceeded, notwithstanding strong currents setting violently to the north and north-west, until he arrived in five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was so excessive that the men could hardly breathe; and had not the air been sometimes cooled with rain and fogs, the crew would have run the risque of being burnt with their ships; so that the admiral resolved to proceed no farther to the southward, but steer due west, at least until he should see how the weather would settle.

On Thursday July 31st, having sailed many days in a westerly course, and judging the Caribbee islands were to the northward, he determined to change his direction and make for Hispaniola, being in great want of provision and water. He therefore stood to the northward, and one day about noon, a sailor from the round-top saw land to the westward, at the distance of fifteen leagues, stretching towards the north-east as far as the view could extend. *Salve regina* and other prayers were said by the seamen, and the admiral distinguished this land by the name of Trinity, because three mountains on it appeared at the same time.

Sailing



Sailing due west, he anchored five leagues beyond a point which he called de la Galera, from a rock that at a distance resembled a galley under sail: but, here being no conveniency to take in water, he sailed farther west, and cast anchor at another point, which he denominated de la Plaga, where the people landing, found water in a delicate brook, without seeing any hut or people; tho', in coasting along, they had left behind many houses and towns. Indeed they found some fishing tackle, and the prints of the feet of beasts, some of which seemed to be goats, by the skeleton of one that they perceived on the beach. That same day being the 1st of August, in sailing between Cape Galera and la Plaga, they discovered the continent at the distance of five and twenty leagues, and mistaking it for another island, gave it the name of *Isla Santa*.

The Trinity, between the two points, extended thirty leagues from east to west, but had no harbour in all that space, tho' the country seemed very pleasant, abounding with trees and villages. This run they accomplished in a very short time, because the current set to the westward like a rapid river, altho' the tide rose and fell above forty paces along shore.

The admiral perceiving that he could have no account of the country at this cape, that the ships could not be watered without difficulty, and that there was no convenience for careening, proceeded to a more westerly point of land, which he named del Arenal, where he thought his boats would not be so much incommoded by the easterly wind which prevails on this coast. In his way, he was followed by a canoe with five and twenty men, who stopped within cannon shot, calling out, and talking very loud: as what they said could not be understood, he ordered some of the men to allure them to the

ship, by shewing little brass basons, looking-glasses, and other toys, of which the Indians used to be enamoured; but, this expedient proving ineffectual, he desired one of the men to ascend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. The Indians no sooner heard the musick, and saw the gesticulations of the Spaniards, than they put themselves in a posture of defence, braced their targets, and shot their arrows among them: and the admiral allowed his people to punish their insolence with their cross-bows, which soon compelled the savages to retire; tho' they went along side of another caraval, without apprehension, and were civilly treated and dismissed by the captain, who said they were well shaped and whiter than the inhabitants of the other islands; that they wore long hair tied with strings, and covered their nudities with clouts.

The ships being watered at Punta del Arenal, from trenches which in all probability the fishermen had made, the admiral proceeded to another mouth or channel towards the north-west, which he called Boca del Drago, to distinguish it from the watering-place he had left, which had the appellation of Boca de la Sierpe. These two mouths or channels are made by the two westernmost points of the Trinity island, and two others of the continent, lying almost north and south of one another. In the midst of the Boca del Drago, where the admiral anchored, is a rock, which he called el Gallo; and through the other the sea ran so furiously to the northward, that it resembled the mouth of some great river. As the ships lay at anchor, they were assaulted by an increased stream running northward with an hideous noise, which meeting with another current from the gulf of Paria, swelled up the sea with terrible roaring, to the astonishment and consternation of the Spaniards,

ards, who expected to be overwhelmed. However, they suffered no other damage than that of seeing one of the ships drag her anchor, tho' she was afterwards brought up by the help of her sails. This danger being passed, the admiral weighed anchor, and sailed westward along the south coast of Paria, which he then believed to be an island, and hoped to find a way northward to Hispaniola; but, tho' the coast abounded with ports, he would not enter any, as all that sea was land-locked, and formed into an harbour by the continent.

On the 5th day of August, while the ships lay at anchor, the boats being sent ashore, found plenty of fruit peculiar to that climate, a great quantity of wood, and some signs of people who had fled at their approach. Sailing fifteen leagues farther down the coast, where he dropt anchor, a canoe with three men came aboard of the caraval el Borreo, and being carried to the admiral, the men were civilly treated, presented with toys, and sent on shore at a place where stood a number of Indians. These no sooner understood the pacific disposition of the Christians, than they came along side in their canoes, to barter with the same sort of things which the Spaniards had bought at the other islands: but the people here had no targets nor poisoned arrows, which are peculiar to the Canibals.

They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another of a dusky hue, that tasted like wine made of four grapes. The men cover their heads and middle with well woven cotton cloths of different colours; but the women here, as well as in Trinity Island, were stark naked; they seemed in general to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and were particularly fond of brass trinkets and bells.—As nothing of value appeared among them but a few inconsiderable plates of gold that hung about their necks, the admiral



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ordered six of them to be taken on board, and proceeding to the westward, touched at two other high islands, well inhabited by people who seemed to be richer in gold plates than those he had left: they said it was produced in other islands to the westward, inhabited by Canibals. The women wore strings of beads about their arms, some of them being very fine strong pearls, which they signified were found in oysters taken to the westward and northward of Paria; and the admiral having purchased some of them, for a present and sample to their catholic majesties, sent the boats to make further inquiry about this precious commodity. When the Spaniards landed, they were received in a friendly manner by the natives, who flocked round them, and conducted them to an house, where they were hospitably entertained with victuals, and that sort of wine we have already mentioned. These Indians were of a fairer complexion, opener countenance, and better shape than those the Spaniards had hitherto seen, and wore their hair cut short by the ears, according to the Spanish fashion: they said their country was called Paria, expressed a desire of living in amity with the Christians, and suffered them to return to their ships in peace.

The admiral continuing to sail westward, found the water growing more and more shallow, so that he would not venture to proceed farther in his own ship, but, anchoring upon the coast, sent the small caraval el Borreo to discover whether there was an outlet to the westward among those islands. She returned next day, which was the 11th of August, with a report that what seemed islands, was one continued continent: so that Columbus stood to the eastward and passed the streights, which he saw between Paria and the island of Trinity. This passage he effected with great difficulty and danger, arising from three different boisterous currents; and

August

August the 13th, he began to sail westward along the coast of Paria, from which he intended to stand over to Hispaniola, being now satisfied that it was a continent, from the report of the Indians, the extent of the gulph of pearls, and the largeness of the rivers that run from it into the sea. In their course, the weather being calm, he was carried by the currents to the northwest. On Wednesday August 15th, he left Cape de las Conchas to the southward, and the island Margareta to the west, steered by six others, which he called las Guardas, and three more northerly, denominated los Testigos; and on Monday the 20th came to an anchor between Beaca and Hispaniola, from whence he sent some Indians with a letter to his brother the Adelantado. He now stood to the eastward; and on the 30th, entered the harbour of St. Domingo, where his brother had built a city so called, in memory of his father, whose name was Dominick.

By this time, he was almost blind with overwatching, and quite exhausted with fatigue; but, he now flattered himself with the prospect of enjoying his repose in the bosom of peace and tranquillity. Nevertheless, he was grievously disappointed in this expectation, for he found the whole island in disorder and rebellion. The greatest part of those he had left were dead, above one hundred and sixty were miserably infected with the venereal distemper; a great number had rebelled with one Francis Roldan, whom he had left as alcalde mayor or chief justice; and his chagrin was completed, when he did not find the three ships which he had dispatched before him from the Canaries.

We have already observed, that a great deal of time elapsed before Columbus could obtain from their catholic majesties, a supply for the colony of

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Hispaniola: in this interval, provisions beginning to fail among the Spaniards of that island, they began to murmur, became dissatisfied with their situation, and even despaired of the admiral's return. Roldan, whose post gave him considerable influence, resolved to profit by this spirit of discontent, so as to center the whole power in his own hands, and with this view encouraged the murmurs of the malecontents against the lieutenant and his brother James, to whose insolence and tyranny he imputed all their wants and sufferings, and even tampered with some chiefs of the island, whom he endeavoured to attach to his own party. His intrigues met with such success, that a great number of the Spaniards were alienated from the brothers of Columbus, and even made several attempts upon their lives: at length Roldan, pulling off the mask, assembled his men to the number of sixty-five, and attempted to possess himself of the town and fort of Conception; but this scheme miscarried, through the vigilance of Ballester the commandant, who having got intimation of his design, communicated it to the lieutenant, from whom he received a reinforcement. In consequence of this rebellious behaviour, the Adelantado ordered Roldan to resign the rod of justice, and submit himself to an impartial trial: but these commands he rejected with disdain, and marched with his mutineers to Isabella, where having in vain tried to launch a caraval which was upon the stocks, he plundered the magazines and store-houses, and obliged James Columbus to retire into the fort for protection. He afterwards fell upon the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, killed a number for provision, and took all the beasts of burthen, to serve his people in their march to the province of Xaragua, where they intended to fix their habitation, because it was the most pleasant and plentiful part of the island,



island, and abounded with beautiful women. But before he set out for this retreat, he resolved to make trial of his strength, and surprize, if possible, the town of Conception, where he purposed to murder the lieutenant, from whom he did not doubt that he should be able to seduce his men, who were but too fond of the idle and voluptuous life which he intended to lead. The Adelantado, who was a man of equal courage and discretion, took such measures to prevent this seduction, that not one of his people would forsake him, and he marched out against Roldan, who did not think proper to hazard an encounter, but made shift by artful insinuations to the prejudice of Columbus, to engage Guarinvex, a powerful cacique, in his company. In consequence of his suggestions, this Indian chief entered into an association with other lords of the island, who were cajoled with the hope of seeing their tribute remitted; and it was resolved that, at the full moon, the natives should surprize and murder the Spaniards, who lived among them in small detached parties, for the convenience of finding subsistence. This project likewise misgave, through the ignorance of the Indians; for, some of them being mistaken by the appearance of the moon, fell upon the Christians before the appointed time, and were easily repulsed: by this attempt the conspiracy was discovered, and the Spaniards were afterwards so much upon their guard, that they had no chance of succeeding in another effort.

Roldan was not a little mortified at these repeated miscarriages, and thinking himself unsafe in any other part of the island, retired with his followers to Xaragua, proclaiming himself the protector of the Indians against the insolence and oppression of the lieutenant and his brother. His artful misrepresentations not only had an effect

among the natives, some of whom refused to pay the settled tribute, but likewise left an impression upon the minds of those Spaniards who still remained under the government of the lieutenant: many of them were, by the nature and warmth of the climate, disposed to lead a life of idleness, and as they had received no supplies from Spain for a considerable length of time, they grew discontented; and indeed such a spirit of disobedience had diffused itself among them, that the Adelantado durst not venture to punish the guilty, for fear of a general insurrection and revolt. From these apprehensions, however, he was in some measure freed by the arrival of the first two ships which were sent out in consequence of the admiral's solicitations: there being a reinforcement of men and provisions, together with the assurance that the admiral himself would soon follow, the people were encouraged to persevere in their duty, and the rebels intimidated by the prospect of being punished whenever Columbus should arrive. The two ships being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched thitherward, in order to furnish himself with necessaries, and seduce, if possible, some of the new comers to his party: but, he was anticipated by the activity of the lieutenant, who reached the place before he was within six leagues of it, and guarded the passes in such a manner that he could not proceed. Nevertheless, as he earnestly wished that the admiral might find the island in tranquillity, the Adelantado sent overtures of accommodation to Roldan by Peter Fernandez Coronell, commander of the two ships, whom he received in an hostile manner, and sent back with a contemptuous refusal.

Things remained in this situation, till the arrival of the three ships which the admiral had detached from the Canary islands. These vessels proceeded with favourable winds, until they made the

the Caribbees; but as their pilots were unacquainted with the ports of Hispaniola, instead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, they were driven by the currents as far westward as the province of Xaragua, where they were visited by Roldan and his followers, and a great number of their people debauched into his service. The three captains understanding that there was a division between the lieutenant and the chief justice, agreed that Caravajal should stay in Xaragua, and endeavour to effect an accommodation; that John Anthony Columbus should conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that Arana should sail about with the ships. Accordingly John Anthony Columbus landed with forty men, and on the second day of his march, he was abandoned by all his followers, who deserted to the rebels, except six or seven, with whom he was fain to return on board, after having in vain expostulated with Roldan upon his treacherous conduct on this occasion. The ships, after a troublesome voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled, and Caravajal's vessel greatly damaged, arrived at St. Domingo, where the captains found the admiral returned from the discovery of the continent. He had been informed by his brother of Roldan's revolt, and resolved to send a circumstantial detail of the whole affair to their catholic majesties. Mean while, that he might not be accused of having neglected to take any one step that could quiet these dissensions, he desired Ballester, who was near Roldan, to demand a conference, and tell him that the admiral was extremely sorry for the breach that had happened between him and the lieutenant, and very desirous of healing it up; that he should be glad to see him, and, if he thought proper, would grant him a safe conduct. At the same time, Columbus understanding that the rebels complained of their



being detained upon the island, by the want of vessels to reconvey them to their own country, he published a proclamation, giving leave of departure to all that would return to Spain, and promising to supply them with free passage and provisions. Notwithstanding these concessions, Roldan treated all his advances to reconciliation with indignity and insult, telling Ballester, that it was in his power either to support or suppress the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat, except through the mediation of Caravajal, whom he knew to be a man of honour and discretion.

Although Columbus had great reason to suspect the fidelity of this man, who had actually supplied the rebels with arms while the ships lay at Xaragua, yet as he was a person of consequence and a good share of prudence, which he thought would influence him to act with sincerity in this negotiation, he sent him and Ballester as deputies to Roldan, who refused to treat, on pretence that they had not set at liberty some of his Indian friends, whom they had taken in actual rebellion: he likewise sent an insolent letter to the admiral, subscribed by his followers, renouncing all obedience to his authority. He was, afterwards, however prevailed upon to accept of a safe conduct, and visit the admiral, to whom he made such extravagant proposals as the other could not embrace without bringing his own character into contempt. He, therefore, explained his reasons for rejecting them, and proclaimed a free pardon to all those who should return to their duty and allegiance within the space of thirty days: and about the same time, he sent five ships to Spain with a particular account of the colony, and dissensions, addressed to their catholic majesties. A copy of the pardon, together with new overtures of peace, was conveyed to the rebels by Caravajal, and after great altercation and dispute,

dispute, both sides at length agreed, that the admiral should deliver to Roldan two good ships, well manned, rigged and victualled, for transporting him and his people to Spain, from the port of Xaragua; that he should issue an order for the payment of their salaries and wages, to the day of their departure; and restore such of their effects as had been seized by his or the lieutenant's order: and that within fifty days from the ratification of this agreement, they should leave the island. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships; but, necessities being very scarce, and the weather extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, and in that interval, Roldan changed his mind, and taking advantage of the delay, during which, he said, his people had consumed a great part of the provision that was intended for the voyage, he renounced the agreement and refused to embark. Caravajal, who went to Xaragua with the ships, after having in vain exhorted the rebels to comply with the articles of the agreement, entered a protest against their proceedings, and returned with the ship to St. Domingo, where he told the admiral, that Roldan still expressed a desire of seeing the affair accommodated, and desired a safe conduct, by virtue of which he would come and treat in person. Columbus, knowing the mutinous disposition of his own people, was extremely solicitous about healing the division, and not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went round with two caravals to the port of Azura, which is near Xaragua, and there he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that the admiral should send home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the first ships bound for Spain; that he should give land and houses, in lieu of pay, to those who remained; that an act of

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general amnesty should pass and be published, and that Roldan should a-new be appointed perpetual judge.

This affair, which had been so long in agitation, being thus adjusted, the admiral appointed a captain to march a body of men round the island, in order to pacify, reduce and punish the rebellious Indians, while he himself proposed to return to Spain, with his brother the lieutenant, that no cause of animosity might be left in Hispaniola, so as to endanger another revolt. While he was employed in making preparations for the voyage, Alonzo de Ojeda arrived in the island with four ships, from a discovering cruize, and putting into the port of Yaquimo, not only committed acts of outrage upon the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with some of the Spaniards, who were hardly as yet confirmed in their duty after the late troubles; to these he insinuated that queen Isabella was in a very bad state of health, and that after her decease, the admiral would find no protection at court, but, on the contrary, must fall a victim to the hatred of Ojeda's kinsman the bishop, whom we have already mentioned as the inveterate enemy of Columbus. The admiral being informed of his proceedings, ordered Roldan to march against him with one and twenty men; and accordingly the chief justice came upon him so suddenly, at the house of a cacique called Haniguaba, that finding it impossible to escape, and being too weak to make any opposition, he went forth to meet him, excused his landing, upon pretence of being in want of provision, and declared he had no intention to disturb the repose of the island. Then he told Roldan, that he had discovered six hundred leagues to the westward along the coast of Paria, where he found people who fought the Christians hand to hand with such valour, that he could make  
no



no advantage of the wealth of the country, from whence he had brought some skins of deer, rabbits, tygers and gaaninis; and concluded with a promise, that he would soon sail round to St. Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. Notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced a good number of people who had been in rebellion, by telling them that he and Caravajal were appointed by their majesties, counsellors and checks upon the admiral, and that as he had not been just enough to pay them, they should go under his command, and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the Spaniards, who despised the presumption of Ojeda, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded; and Roldan, who had rejected his proposals, marching a second time against him, he was fain to take refuge in the ships. The chief justice, perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come ashore and treat of an accommodation, and upon his refusal, took his boat by stratagem; so that he was obliged to submit to a treaty, in consequence of which he left the island. Not long after his departure, another commotion was raised by one Ferdinand de Guevara, who was in disgrace with the admiral, for having been concerned in the late sedition. This man being exasperated against Roldan, who would not permit him to marry the daughter of Canua queen of Xaragua, began to set up for himself, and entered into a conspiracy with one Adrian de Moxica, who had been a chief actor in the first rebellion; these two projectors engaged many people in their interest, and resolved to surprize and murder the chief justice, whom Guevara considered as his greatest enemy, and the chief obstacle to his design.

Roldan

Roldan having got intelligence of their purpose, concerted his measures so well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and being directed by the admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial; in consequence of which, Adrian was hanged, some others banished, and Ferdinand with a few confederates sent prisoners to la Vega, where the admiral at that time resided.

This example, which was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of peace and subordination, had such an effect upon all degrees of persons, that tranquillity was restored through the whole island, and the Indians submitted without further opposition. About this time such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man began to dig on his own account, paying to the king one third of what he found; and their labour prospered to such a degree, that one man has been known to gather forty ounces in one day; and one lump of pure gold was found, that weighed one hundred and ninety-six ducats.

While Columbus was thus indefatigably employed in appeasing the troubles of Hispaniola, and securing the property of it for their catholic majesties, he little dreamed what a storm was brewing against him at home. During the rebellion, a number of complaints had been sent to Spain by the malecontents, who represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the laws and customs of the Spanish nation, without moderation to support the dignity to which he had been raised, oppressive and cruel in his disposition, and so avaritious that he not only withheld the pay from the servants of the government, but likewise embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed still more bitterly against his brother the Adelantado, nor did James escape the utmost virulence of censure. These invectives being trumpeted by the friends of the complainers,

and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied the success and reputation of Columbus, such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the king and queen were every day surrounded in the streets, and even in the palace, by people demanding justice against that proud and tyrannic foreigner, who had oppressed so many Castilians, and discovered a mischievous country, to be the ruin and grave of the Spanish gentry. Other methods were taken to influence the favourites at court, who joining the importunities of the people, their catholic majesties were prevailed upon to send an inspector general to Hispaniola, with a commission empowering him to enquire into the admiral's conduct, and if he should be found guilty, to send him home, while he should remain governor of the island. The person chosen for this office was one Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, in very low circumstances, who being furnished with full powers and authority, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of August 1500, while the admiral was at the Conception, with almost all the people of consequence, employed in settling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been assaulted by the malecontents.

The new inspector, finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, took possession of the admiral's palace, and converted his effects to his own use; then assembling all those whom he found disaffected to the brothers, declared himself governor; and, in order to attach the people to his interest, proclaimed a general remission for twenty years to come. The next step he took was to require the admiral's presence without delay; and, to enforce this order, he sent him the king's letter, to this effect.



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To D. Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean.

“ We have ordered the commendary Francis de  
 “ Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some  
 “ things from us : therefore we desire you to yield  
 “ him entire credit and obedience.”——Given at  
 Madrid, May 21, 1499.

“ By command of their highnesses,

“ Mic. Perez de Almazan.

“ I THE KING.

“ I THE QUEEN.”

The admiral no sooner received this letter, than he set out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla ; who without delay or legal information, sent him and his brother James on board of a ship, where they were put in irons, under a strong guard, and entirely excluded from the speech of any person whatever. Then a process was instituted against them, and all their enemies admitted as evidences, who in their depositions were so malicious, incoherent and absurd, that no person, who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. But, so far was Bovadilla from doing justice on this occasion, that he countenanced the most flagrant perjury, and even encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners, by reading scandalous libels in the market-place, and blowing horns at the port where the ships lay at anchor. Perhaps the Adelantado, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might have rescued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to submit quietly, and surrender himself to the authority of their majesties, now vested in the person of their new governor, who had no sooner secured their persons, and laid strict injunctions on Andrew Martin the captain of the ship, to deliver the admiral in irons to

the bishop D. John de Fonseca his old enemy, by whose direction he acted, than he began to squander the king's revenues among his creatures, to embezzle the treasure, countenance all manner of profligacy and extravagance, oppress and plunder the Indians, and in short, destroy the wholesome regulations which had been established.

With regard to the admiral, he declined accepting the favour of Andrew Martin, who, being ashamed of his situation, would have knocked off his irons; but he insisted upon wearing them during the whole passage, saying he was resolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his service. Nor did he ever change his opinion in this particular; for, the fetters were always preserved in his own chamber, and buried in the same coffin with his body, at his own request.

On the 20th day of November 1500, he wrote a letter to their catholic majesties, giving an account of his arrival at Cadiz; and they understanding his situation, gave immediate order that he should be released, and sent him very gracious letters, in which they expressed their sorrow for his sufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of Bovadilla, and invited him to court, with promise that he should be shortly dispatched with full restitution of his honour. Accordingly on his arrival at Grenada, he met with a very favourable reception from the king and queen, who expressed their displeasure against the author of his imprisonment, and promised that he should have ample satisfaction. In the mean time, they ordered his affair to be examined, and the accusation plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted. A new governor was appointed to be sent to Hispaniola, in order to redress the admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to restore what he had unjustly seized; and to proceed against the rebels according to the nature

nature of their offences. This power and commission was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commandery of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel and revengeful, who listened to malicious surmises, and exercised great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs. At the same time, it was resolved, that Columbus should be sent upon some voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed, until Abando could settle the affairs of Hispaniola. But the admiral being weary of the fatigues attending such expeditions, extremely chagrined at the ingratitude of Spain, and apprehensive of future disgrace from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, desired to be excused from embarking again, and would not engage in the enterprize, until he was strongly solicited by their majesties, who assured him of their protection in a letter to this effect: “ And be assured that your  
 “ imprisonment was very displeasing to us: for,  
 “ you and all men saw, that as soon as we heard  
 “ of it, we applied the proper remedies. You know  
 “ with how much respect we have always ordered  
 “ you to be treated: we have now directed that  
 “ you shall receive all worthy and noble usage;  
 “ and we promise, that the privileges and prerogatives which we have granted you, shall be  
 “ preserved in ample manner, according to the tenor of our letters patent. These your children  
 “ shall enjoy without contradiction; and, if it be  
 “ requisite to ratify them a-new, we will do it, and  
 “ order your son to be put in possession of all:  
 “ for, we desire to honour and favour you in greater  
 “ matters than these. And be satisfied we will  
 “ take due care of your children and brothers after your departure. We therefore pray you not  
 “ to delay your voyage.” Given at Valentia de la Torre, March 14th, 1502.





## The Fourth Voyage of C O L U M B U S.

THE admiral yielded to these solicitations, and having received his instructions, set out in the year 1501 for Sevil, in order to superintend the equipment of his squadron, consisting of four small ships, with one hundred and forty men, including boys. All the necessary preparations being made, he sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May for St. Catherine's, from whence, on Wednesday 11th, he departed for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were said to be in great distress; but, before he arrived, the Moors had raised the siege. The admiral had sent his brother D. Bartholomew, and his own son, together with the captains of the squadron, to visit the governor, who had been wounded in an assault; and he returned the compliment, by sending on board a number of gentlemen, among whom were some relations of Donna Philippa Moniz, the admiral's Portuguese wife.

That same day he set sail for the Gran Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for the voyage. On the 25th, in the evening, he proceeded for the West Indies, and the wind was so favourable, that without having handed the sails, he arrived at the island of Martinico on Wednesday June 15th; there having taken in a fresh supply of wood and water, he stood to the westward among the Caribbee islands, and on the 24th ran along the south side of St. John. From thence he steered his course for St. Domingo, where he intended to exchange one of his ships, which was a  
bad

bad failer, that he might continue his voyage with more advantage, to the coast of Paria, in quest of the strait which he supposed to be near Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But that the new commendary, whom their majesties had sent to call Bovadilla to account, might not be surprized at his unexpected arrival, he, on the 29th of June, being near the port, dispatched before him Peter de Terreros, one of his captains, to signify the occasion he had for another ship, as well as for shelter against a storm which he foresaw; and on account of which, he desired the commendary would not suffer a fleet that lay ready for sailing to quit the harbour. So little inclined was this new governor to assist the admiral with another vessel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and, disregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, to go to sea without delay, on their return to Spain, having on board Bovadilla, Roldan, and the rest of the admiral's enemies.

They had no sooner weathered the east point of Hispaniola, than they were overtaken by a dreadful tempest, in which their admiral foundered with Bovadilla, and almost all the chief rebels; and of the whole eighteen ships, not above three or four were saved, while Columbus, who prognosticated the storm, sheltered himself as well as he could under the land. On the second day, however, the wind rose to such a pitch of fury, that his other three vessels were forced out to sea; where the Bermuda, the ship he wanted to exchange, must certainly have perished, had not she been preserved by the admirable skill and dexterity of D. Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the most expert seaman of his time. The ships being thus separated, every one concluded the other was lost, until, in a few days, they met again in the port of Azua, where, upon comparing their observations, it appeared that Bar-

tholomew

tholomew had weathered the storm by running out to sea, like an able sailor, while Christopher had avoided great part of the danger, by lying close under shore, like a wise astrologer. Indeed the admiral's satisfaction was considerably diminished, by the mortification and chagrin he felt, upon reflecting, that he was denied shelter in that very country which he himself had discovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain. This storm, together with its consequences, furnished his enemies with a pretence for saying, he had raised it by magic art, for the destruction of the fleet bound for Spain; and what added more weight to this supposition, the only ship of the eighteen, that arrived in Spain, was the *Aguja* or Needle, on board of which were 4000 pesos in gold, belonging to the admiral, while the other three which resisted the fury of the storm, were forced back to St. Domingo in a shattered condition.

Columbus having refreshed his men in the harbour of Azua, where they caught plenty of fish called *saavina* and manatee or sea-cow, sailed to the port of Brazil, which the Indians called *Gracchimo*, to shelter himself from another storm that was brewing; and thence departing July 14th, was becalmed in such a manner, that instead of continuing his course, he was carried away by the current, to certain islands near Jamaica, which being very small and sandy, he named *Los Poros* or the Wells; because, for want of fresh springs, he ordered his men to dig pits in the sand, from which they drew water for the use of the ship. Then standing to the southward for the continent, he reached the islands of Guanara, near the province now called Honduras, where his brother Bartholomew going ashore with two boats, found people like those of the other islands, a great number of pine trees, and pieces of *lapis calaminaris*, which being mixed with copper,



copper, some of the seamen mistook for gold, and concealed accordingly. While he remained in this place, he descried a canoe as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, with an awning in the middle, made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike those of the Venetian gondolas; under this cover, the women, children, and all the goods were sheltered from the weather; and, though the vessel was manned by twenty-five stout Indians, they allowed themselves to be taken without opposition.

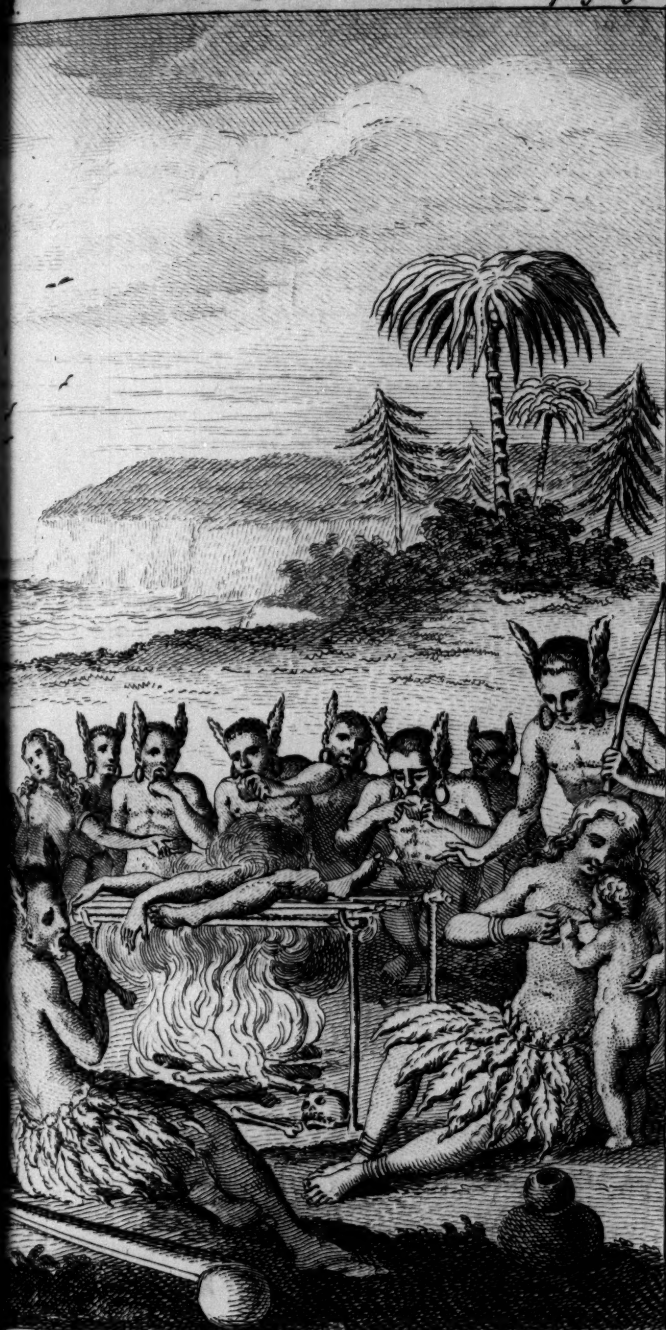
The admiral, rejoicing at this opportunity of knowing the commodities of the continent, without being obliged to expose his men to danger, ordered the cargo to be examined, and found quilts, and shirts of cotton, without sleeves, curiously wrought and dyed of several colours; some clouts for the middle, of the same stuff, together with large sheets, in which their women wrapped themselves; long wooden swords edged on each side, with flint fixed in a groove, with thread and a bituminous matter, hatchets and bells of copper, with plates and crucibles for melting that metal. The provision consisted of such roots and grain as are used for food in Hispaniola, and a sort of liquor, made of maiz, resembling the English beer. They had also a good number of cacao nuts, which in New Spain pass for money, and upon which they seemed to put a great value; for, notwithstanding the consternation with which they were seized, when they found themselves prisoners among such a strange race of men, they never failed, when one of these nuts chanced to fall upon the deck, to stoop down and take it up with marks of eagerness and concern, as a thing of great consequence. Nor ought we to omit mentioning their extraordinary modesty, which was so remarkable, that when some of them were pulled on board by their clouts, which gave way, they immediately covered their nudities with

with their hands, and the women wrapped themselves in their sheets, with signs of shame and confusion. This their sense of decorum had such an effect upon the admiral, that he ordered them to be well used, restored their canoe, and gave them European commodities in exchange for those articles of their merchandize which he thought proper to retain: however, he kept one old man called Giumbe, who seemed to be the wisest and chief man of the whole, that from him he might learn some other material particulars of the country, and use him as an interpreter among the other Indians. This office he cheerfully undertook, and faithfully discharged in the course of the voyage, as long as it continued among people who understood his language; and when he could be no longer serviceable, he was dismissed to his heart's content, with many valuable presents as a reward for his fidelity.

Although the admiral was informed by this Indian, of the great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity of the people who lived to the westward in New Spain, yet knowing, as these countries lay to leeward, he could sail thither at any time from Cuba, he resolved at present to persist in his design of discovering the strait in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the south sea, and reach the spice country; and accordingly turned to the eastward towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he was told this strait would be found. Nor was the information untrue; inasmuch as the Indians meant a strait of land or isthmus, which he mistook for a narrow gulph extending from sea to sea. In quest of this strait he sailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Casinus, because there he found great plenty of trees, bearing a fruit so called by the natives of Hispaniola; and near this cape he saw people who wore painted shirts or jerkins, and clouts, made of cotton, like coats of mail,  
so

so strong as to defend them against the weapons used in that country, and even against the stroke of an European sword. But farther to the eastward, near Cape Gracias a Dios, the natives are of a fierce aspect and savage disposition, go stark naked, eat human flesh, and fish raw as it is taken; and they make such holes in their ears, as will admit an hen's egg; from which circumstance the admiral denominated that coast, *de Las Orejas*, or, of the Ears. Turning still to windward, on Sunday August 14th, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus went ashore in the morning to hear mass, with the colours, captains, and a good number of men; and on Wednesday following, when they went to take possession of the country for their catholic majesties, above one hundred Indians, loaded with provisions, ran down to the shore, and, on the approach of the boats, on a sudden retired without speaking one word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, employed the interpreter to allure them with horse bells, beads, and other toys, which pleased them so much, that next day they returned in greater numbers, with several sorts of provisions, such as hens of that country, which are better than those of Europe, geese, roasted fish, and red and white beans, resembling the kidney-beans of Spain. The country, though low, was green and beautiful, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees, and mirabolans, together with every sort of fruit or provision to be found upon the island of Hispaniola. Here likewise were leopards, deer, and other animals. The people are like those of the islands, except in their foreheads, which are not so high; their nudities only are covered; they seem to have no religion, and every nation speaks a particular language of its own. Their arms and bodies are ornamented with different figures, wrought into the skin by fire. The better sort, instead of caps, wear red and white cot-





*The Natives of the Caribbee Islands  
Feasting on human Flesh.*

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ton cloths; some have short jumps without sleeves, that reach to their middle, and others have locks of hair hanging down on their foreheads: but on a festival, they paint their faces of various colours, so as to look very terrible and diabolical.

From the coast de las Orejas, the admiral spent seventy days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward, because the wind and current were contrary all the time: nevertheless, as there was good riding along the coast, he tacked to and fro, and dropped anchor every night under the land; and on the 14th of September reached a cape, which he called *Gracias a Dios*, or Thanks to God, because from thence the land trended off to the south, so as that he could prosecute his voyage with the trade wind: nevertheless, a little way beyond this head land, he passed some dangerous sands that ran out to sea as far as the eye could reach.

On the 16th, being in want of good water, the admiral sent the boats into a river, at the entrance of which there was such a rippling, occasioned by the current of the stream, and the wind from the sea, that in returning, one of the boats, together with all her men, was lost; so that it was named, the River de la *Disgracia*, or of Distaster. Running still to the southward, he, on Sunday 25th, anchored near a town called *Cariari*, and in the neighbourhood of a little island named *Quiriviri*, which in people, soil, and situation, excelled every place he had yet seen: for the land is high, and abounds with pasturage, rivers and woods. *Cariari* is situated near a great river; to the banks of which a multitude of people resorted, some armed with bows and arrows, and others with staves of palm-tree, as black as a coal, and as hard as horn, pointed with the bones of fishes; a third set were furnished with clubs: and they seemed to have assembled with intention to defend their country from invasion.



But, perceiving the pacific disposition of the Christians, they expressed a desire of bartering their commodities, consisting of arms, cotton jerkins, sheets, and guaninis, which are pieces of pale gold, worn about their necks like relics. With these articles they swam to the boats; for the Spaniards did not go a shore that day or the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but presented them with several trinkets, that they might look upon the Christians as men who despised all mercenary views. The less the admiral seemed to regard the traffick, the more eagerness they discovered to trade with him, and made signs from the land, inviting his people to come among them; but these proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on board in a heap upon the shore, where they were found the Wednesday following, when the Spaniards landed. The Indians, supposing the strangers did not confide in their sincerity, sent down an ancient man, of an awful presence, carrying a flag upon a staff, attended by two young girls, with guaninis about their necks: these, at his earnest request, were conducted by the boat's crew on board of the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed, and fed, and sent on shore again, where they were received with much satisfaction by the old man and fifty natives assembled on the beach.

Next day, the admiral's brother going ashore to learn something of the country, two of their chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms, made him sit down upon the grass between them. In this situation he began to interrogate them, and ordered the secretary to write down their answers; but, they no sooner saw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were seized with consternation, and ran away, believing that these were implements of sorcery: for they had performed some ceremonies of exorcism

exorcism before they approached the Spaniards. D. Bartholomew having quieted their apprehensions, visited their town, where, in a great wooden palace, covered with canes, he saw several tombs, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; and in another two human carcases wrapped up in cotton sheets, which did not emit the least odour: over each of these catacombs was a board with the figures of beasts carved upon it; and on some of them were the effigies of the defunct, adorned with guaninis, beads, and other ornaments upon which they set a value.

The admiral was so desirous of being better acquainted with the nature of this country, and the manners of the inhabitants, who seemed to be more civilized than any he had yet seen, that he ordered seven to be taken, and of these he chose two that seemed to be the most intelligent, sending the rest away with some presents, and an assurance that their companions were detained for no other reason, than to serve as guides and interpreters along the coast, and that in a little time they would be certainly set at liberty. Notwithstanding these professions, they imputed the detention to avarice; and next day, a number of them coming down to the shore, sent four ambassadors on board of the admiral, to treat for the ransom of their countrymen, with a present of two wild hogs, which, tho' small, were very sweet. These deputies were entertained with great civility; and, tho' he would not comply with their request, sent them away well satisfied, and amply paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted on board by a kind of wild cat, of a greyish colour, that was caught in a wood by one of the men, after he had cut off one of its fore legs. This animal, which is as big as a small grey hound, leaps like a squirrel from tree to tree, and not only fastens upon the branches with its claws, but even

with its tail, by which it often suspends itself, either for rest or sport. The hogs, tho' naturally very ferocious, no sooner saw it, than they ran about the deck in a fright; and the admiral perceiving their terror, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which immediately wound its tail about the hog's snout, and with the foreleg that remained, fastening upon its pole, would soon have made a prey of it had not the people interposed. From these circumstances it appeared, that those cats hunt like the wolves in Spain.

On Wednesday, October 5th, the admiral sailed into the bay of Caravaro, fix leagues in length, and above three in breadth, in which are many small islands; and between them the ships sail as it were in streets, brushing the trees on each side. The vessels being anchored in this bay, the boats were sent to one of the islands, where the men found twenty canoes, and their people hard by them on the shore, stark naked, with little plates, or eagles of gold about their necks. They expressed no symptoms of fear; but, for three horse-bells, gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and said, there was great plenty of that metal on the continent, at a very small distance from this place.

Next day the boats crew went ashore upon the main land, where they met with ten canoes full of people, who, refusing to barter away their plates, two of them were taken, that the admiral might have a chance for acquiring some material intelligence, by means of the Cariari interpreters; and they confirmed what the islanders had said of the gold, which was at the distance of two days journey up in the country. From this bay, the admiral sailed into another hard by, called Aburena; on the 17th put to sea in the prosecution of his voyage; and arriving at the river Guaiga, twelve leagues from hence, commanded the boats to be rowed ashore, where



where they were violently assaulted by above one hundred Indians, who ran furiously into the water up to the middle, brandishing lances, blowing horns, beating drums, and throwing sea-water towards the Spaniards, at whom they likewise spurted chewed herbs, with marks of detestation and defiance. Notwithstanding these menaces, they were appeas'd by the peaceable behaviour of the Christians, and for a few horse-bells exchanged sixteen gold plates, to the value of one hundred and fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuscade for the boats, and perceiving that no body would venture to land without security, they rushed into the water as they had done the preceding day, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats, that lay upon their oars, would not return to the ships. The Spaniards, exasperated at their insolent behaviour, wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow, and at the same time the admiral fired a cannon, the explosion of which terrified them to such a degree that they fled with precipitation. Then four men landing, invited them to return by signs, in consequence of which they laid down their arms; and coming back, exchanged their plates very peaceably.

The admiral having got samples of what this part of the country produced, proceeded to Catiba; and casting anchor in the mouth of a great river, perceived the natives assembling by the sound of drums and horns. They sent two of their number along side in a canoe, and these having discoursed with the Cariari interpreters, came on board without any apprehension, and gave their plates to the admiral, who in return presented them with some baubles. This canoe was succeeded by another, with three men, who behaved in the same manner. And amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, and found a great number of

Indians with their king, who differed in nothing from the rest, but in being covered with one leaf of a tree, because it rained very hard. This sovereign, by exchanging his plate, set an example to his subjects, who bartered to the number of nineteen, of pure gold. Here the Christians saw a great mass of wall, seemingly built of stone and lime; and as this was the first part of the Indies where the admiral discovered signs of structure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

Sailing to the eastward, he passed Cibravo; and the wind blowing fresh, held on his course to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates manufactured. Next day he arrived at a town called Cubiga, from which he continued his voyage to another, which he called Porto-bello, or the Beautiful harbour; because it is spacious, populous, and encompassed by a well cultivated country. He entered this harbour on the 2d day of November, passing between two small islands, within which the ships lay close to the shore; and for seven days, during which he continued here, on account of the rain and bad weather, canoes came constantly on board, with people from the adjacent country, to barter provisions, and bottoms of fine spun cotton, which they exchanged for pins, points, and other such trifles.

On Wednesday 9th, he sailed from Porto-bello, eight leagues to the eastward; but, next day, was forced back four leagues by stress of weather; and putting in among the islands near the continent, where now the town of Nombre de Dios stands, called the place Puerta de Bastimentos, or the Port of Provisions, because all those small islands were covered with grain. A boat well manned being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians were so terrified that they leaped into the sea, and escaped, notwithstanding

standing all the efforts of the Spaniards; for when the boat approached any one of them, he dived like a duck, and came up again at the distance of a bow-shot from the place.

Here the admiral continued, refitting the ships, and mending the cask, till the 23d of November; when he sailed eastward to a place called Guiga, where the boat's crew being sent ashore, found above three hundred Indians, ready to trade for such provisions as they had, and some small pieces of gold that hung at their ears and noses: but without tarrying in this place, he put into a small port, which he called Retrete, or Retired, because it could not contain above six ships, and the width of the mouth did not exceed fifteen or twenty paces, though the rocks on both sides appeared above water as sharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was not to be fathomed. The <sup>book</sup> admiral was decoyed into this confined harbour, <sup>base</sup> by the misrepresentations of those who were sent to view it, and who gave a favourable account of it, because here the ships must lie close to the shore, so as that they would have the better opportunity of trading with the natives. He lay nine days in this narrow place, to which he was confined by bad weather; and at first the Indians came very familiarly to trade, until they were provoked, by the insolence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, to acts of open hostility. As their numbers daily increased, their courage rose to such a pitch of resolution, that they came down and threatened to board the ships; and the admiral, having in vain attempted to appease them by patience and civility, found it absolutely necessary to alter his deportment, so as that they might be convinced of his importance. He therefore ordered his people to fire some pieces of cannon, and this noise they answered with shout, threshing the trees with flaves, as if they despis'd



the explosion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder, used to terrify them. Then he loaded one of the great guns with shot, and pointing it at a number assembled upon an hillock, the ball fell in the midst of them, and soon made them sensible there was something more than empty noise: for they instantly fled with such consternation, that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains. These people were the best shaped Indians of any he had yet seen; tall and thin, without prominent bellies, which are frequent in this country. In this harbour were abundance of very large crocodiles or alligators, that sleep ashore, and emit a musky scent, and are so ravenous that they will devour men if they can take them at advantage, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving that the violent winds from the east and <sup>nor</sup> east continued to blow without ceasing, and that he could no longer trade with the inhabitants of this coast, he resolved to return and satisfy himself of the truth of what was reported concerning the mines of Veragua; and therefore, on Monday, December 5th, sailed back to Portobello.

Next day, while he held on his course, the wind shifted to the west, but as he did not think this was a settled gale, he bore up against it for some days, during which the weather was very unsettled and unruly, in so much as the sailors could scarce stand upon deck; for the sky seemed to be sinking in a deluge of rain, the whole air appeared like a furnace of lightening, and the thunder roared so incessantly, that the people mistook it for the firing of guns in signal of distress. The men, who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to these dreadful peals and flashes, began to be terrified and to despair, especially as the wind shifted in their teeth

teeth whenever they endeavoured to make any harbour; and in the midst of this danger and distraction, they had well nigh been overwhelmed by a dreadful water-spout that rose from the sea to the clouds, as thick as an ordinary butt, whirling about, and dashing with a most tremendous roar. To complete their misfortunes, they lost sight of the ship *Caino*, which they concluded was lost, until they saw her again at the end of three dismal dark days, in which she had been obliged to cast anchor, and afterwards was driven to sea, with the loss of her anchor and boat.

The ships were almost shattered to pieces by the tempest, and the men quite spent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, when they were relieved by a calm that lasted two days; during which they were surrounded by an infinite number of sharks, so greedy that they would bite at the hook though baited only with a red rag. Many of these were caught, and out of the belly of one was taken an entire tortoise, that afterwards lived on board; and from another, the whole head of a shark which we had cut off and thrown into the sea: so that the individuals of this species seem to prey upon one another. Tho' some of the people looked upon them as ominous fish, and all allowed they furnished a very indifferent meal, yet the sailors eat them with great eagerness: for by this time they had been eight months at sea, and consumed all their provision, except the biscuit, which, from the heat and moisture of the climate, was so full of maggots, that many delayed eating till it was dark, that they might not see the vermin they were obliged to swallow.

On Saturday 17th, the admiral entered an harbour, three leagues east of Pennon, which the Indians call *Huiva*, and there permitted his men to repose themselves for three days; during which, going ashore, they perceived the inhabitants lived in

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huts, built upon the tops of trees, of sticks laid a-cross from tree to tree; a strange custom, which must have been owing to their fear of wild beasts, land-floods, or enemies of their own species; for all along that coast, the different nations are at war with one another. From this harbour or bay, he sailed on the 20th; but no sooner was he at sea than the tempest began to rage again, and he was driven into another port: from whence he took his departure on the 3d day, the weather being somewhat mended. Nevertheless, as if providence had resolved to thwart the expedition, the wind roughened and became adverse, so that he was bandied about, to the astonishment and terror of every person on board, until he made the harbour where he had been before, on Thursday the 12th of the same month. Here he stayed from December 26th, till the 3d of January, when, having repaired the ship *Gallega*, and taken on board a sufficient quantity of Indian wheat, wood and water, he sailed back towards *Veragua*, with contrary winds and foul weather. Indeed he was so perplexed and fatigued with currents, tempests, and unfavourable gales, between *Veragua* and *Porto-bello*, that he called the whole coast *Costa de Contrastes*, or of Contention.

On Thursday he cast anchor near a river which the Indians call *Yebra*, and the admiral named *Bethlem*: because he arrived in this place on the feast of the Epiphany. To the westward of this was the river of *Veragua*, the water of which was very shallow, but the boats went up to the town where the gold mines were said to be. At first the Indians stood upon their guard, and threatened to oppose the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian interpreter going ashore, and giving a favourable account of the Christians, they were appeased, and trucked away twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces, like joints of reeds, and some grains that never were melted,



melted, which they said they had gathered a great way off, upon uncouth mountains.

On Monday, June 9th, the admiral's ship and the Biscayna went up the river Bethlem, and the Indians came to exchange such things as they had, particularly fish, which at certain times of the year come from the sea up these rivers in incredible numbers: they likewise bartered some gold for pins, beads, and hawks bells. Next day they were joined by the other two ships, that could not come in the preceding day for want of water at the river's mouth. On the third day after their arrival, D. Bartholomew went up the river with the boats, to the town of Quibio; so the Indians call their king; who hearing of the lieutenant's design, came down in his canoes to meet him, and they received each other in a very friendly manner. Next day he went on board to visit the admiral, who made him some presents, and he retired very well pleased, after a conversation that lasted a whole hour, during which his people exchanged some gold for bells.

On Wednesday the 24th, the river suddenly swelled to a surprising pitch, and rushed down with such impetuosity, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and running foul of the Gallega, brought the fore mast by the board, and both vessels were in great danger of perishing. This sudden rise of the river was supposed to proceed from some terrible shower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua, which were named St. Christopher's, because the tops of them reached above the clouds. On Monday, February 6th, the ships being caulked and refitted, D. Bartholomew, and sixty-eight men, were sent in boats to the river of Veragua, and rowing up, arrived at the cacique's town, where he staid a whole day, inquiring the nearest way to the mines: in consequence of the intelligence he

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received,

received, they, on Wednesday, travelled four leagues and an half; and next day, arriving at the place to which they were directed, gathered some gold about the roots of trees, which were very thick, and of a prodigious height. As the sole aim of this journey was to get information touching the mines, they immediately return'd to the ships, very well pleased with the sample; though, as they afterwards learned, the mines from which they had pick'd it were not those of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to people at war with Quibio, who had directed the Spaniards to his enemy's mines instead of his own.

On Thursday, February 14th, 1503, D. Bartholomew, with fifty men, and followed by a boat, marched to the river of Urira, seven leagues westward from Bethlem, and next day were met by the cacique, attended by twenty men, who presented him with provisions, and some gold plates were exchanged: and during this intercourse, the Indians chewed a dry herb together with a sort of powder. Having rested a while in this place, the Christians were conducted to the town, where they were hospitably entertained with victuals and lodging; and, soon after their arrival, visited by the cacique of Dururi, which is a neighbouring town: he was attended by a great number of his people, who brought some plates to truck, and told the lieutenant, that up in the country there were caciques who had abundance of gold, and a great number of men armed like the Spaniards.

Next day D. Bartholomew sent back twenty men to the ships, and with the other thirty proceeded towards Zobabra, where he saw above six leagues of ground full of maiz, and cultivated like corn fields. Here he was kindly entertained by the natives, as well as at another town, called Cateba, where he purchased some plates: but having now advanced a  
great

great way from the ships, without finding any harbour along the coast, or river larger than that of Bethlem, where he could conveniently settle a colony, according to the intention of the admiral, he returned with a good quantity of gold, to the place from which he had taken his departure, and in which a resolution was now taken, to make a settlement, with eighty men under his command. Proper dispositions being made, they began to build houses, about a cannon's shot from the mouth of the river Bethlem, the materials being timber, and the thatch consisting of the leaves of palm-trees that grew along the shore. Several pieces of cannon, with powder, provision, and other necessaries, were lodged in a large magazine erected for that purpose; except a quantity of wine, biscuit, oil, vinegar, cheese, and grain, which was deposited on board of the ship Gallega, to be left with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fishing-tackle, for the use of the colony. Indeed these last could not but be of signal service, in a country that abounds with such quantities of fish. These the natives took with hooks made of tortoise-shell, which they cut with a thread, here as well as in the islands. Among others, the sea produces a very small fish, called titi, which are so persecuted by their enemies, that they fly up to the surface of the water, where they are caught in little matts, or small nets, and being wrapped in leaves, are dried in an oven, so that they may be kept for a long time: they likewise catch abundance of pilchards, which being pursued by other fish, will leap two or three paces upon the dry land; tho' they are also taken in another manner. In the middle of their canoes, from stem to stern, the Indians raise a partition of palm-tree leaves, two yards high, and plying about the river, make a noise by beating the shore with their oars, so as to frighten the pilchards, which, mistaking the leaves for land, leap upon



on them in great quantities, and fall into the canoe. Besides these, they take great numbers of other fish, that pass along the coast in shoals, and bake them, as already observed. As for liquor; they have plenty of a very palatable kind of beer made of maiz, and agreeable wine, made of the juice and pith of a certain kind of palm tree, as well as of a fruit that resembles a great pine apple.

The houses being reared, and the regulations made for the maintenance of the new colony, the admiral resolved to return to Spain without further delay; when his voyage was effectually retarded by want of water to carry him out of the river, as well as by the terrible surf that beat upon the shore, threatening immediate destruction to any vessel that should approach it. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, as the rains, which alone could swell the river, were past, and the bottoms of the ships were like honey combs, being worm-eaten through and through. To complete the disaster, it was casually discovered by means of an interpreter, that Quibio intended to set fire to the houses of the Christians, who had made a settlement in his dominions, contrary to the inclination of him and his people. In this dilemma, the admiral concerted measures with his brother, for taking the cacique prisoner, together with his principal men, and carry them to Spain as hostages for the good behaviour of his subjects. Accordingly, on the 30th of March, the lieutenant, with above seventy men, proceeded to the village of Veragua, consisting of straggling houses; and at a small distance from it, received a message from the cacique, desiring he would not come up to his house, which stood by itself upon a hill: notwithstanding this intimation, he resolved to go up with five men only, after having ordered the rest to follow, two and two, at some distance, and when they should hear a  
musket

musket fired, to beset the house, that no body might escape. As he approached the residence of Quibio, he was met by another messenger, who begged he would not enter the house, for the cacique himself would come out, tho' he was wounded by an arrow. These entreaties were the effect of jealousy, which prevails so much among the Indians of this coast, that they will not allow their women to be seen. Quibio coming to the door, according to his promise, was immediately seized by the lieutenant, and the musket being fired, the rest of the Spaniards surrounded the house, in which were about thirty persons, who seeing their prince taken, made no opposition. Among these were the wives and children of the cacique, together with some men of note, who offered to ransom themselves with a great quantity of gold that was concealed in an adjoining wood. Bartholomew, without regarding these offers, ordered Quibio and the rest, male and female, to be bound, and carried on board, before the country should take the alarm; and as he himself intended to stay, with the greatest part of the men, in order to secure some of the cacique's kindred and subjects, whom he had not yet taken, he delivered the prisoners to John Sanchez de Cadiz, an able pilot, and a man of good reputation, who undertook, with great confidence and alacrity, to carry them safely on board of the admiral. He accordingly embarked with them in the boat; and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Sanchez, out of compassion, loosed them from each other, tho' he kept the rope to which he was tied in his own hand. The Indian prince, finding his hands at liberty, took an opportunity, while the pilot looked another way, to plunge into the river, with such violence, that Sanchez quitted the rope in order to save himself; and as it then began to be dark, and the boat was immediately

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ly filled with confusion, it was impossible to hear or see how he went ashore; so that, after a fruitless search, the pilot was fain to row on board of the admiral, overwhelmed with shame and vexation.

Next day, the lieutenant, finding it would be impracticable to overtake the fugitive Indians, returned with his men to the ships, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, worth three hundred ducats in plates and eagles, to his brother, who, having deducted the fifth part for their catholic majesties, divided the rest among those who went upon the expedition.

The colony being now settled under proper regulations, and the river being swelled by the rains, Columbus ordered his ships to be lightened, and towed by the boats over the bar, on which all the three struck, though without receiving much damage. Then they took in every thing they had been obliged to unstow, and lay waiting for a fair wind to sail for Hispaniola, from whence the admiral proposed to send supplies to his new settlement. In this interval, the boat went providentially ashore, and contributed to the safety of many Spaniards who otherwise must have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the Indians: for Quibio no sooner perceived the ships at sea, so as that they could give no assistance to the people who were left, than he resolved to attack the settlement; and the woods, by which it was surrounded, facilitated the enterprize. The Indians therefore, under his command, stole unperceived to a spot within ten paces of the houses, and from thence rushed upon the Christians, with dreadful shouts, throwing their javelins, not only at those they saw, but also through their slender roof, so that four or five were dangerously wounded, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence. But the lieutenant, who was a man of great resolution, snatching up a spear, sallied out upon



upon the enemy, and seven or eight of his people following his example, soon compelled the savages to retire into the woods, just as the boat reached the shore: though the Indians would not engage hand to hand after they had felt the edge of the European swords, and the teeth of a dog that fell furiously upon them, they continued to throw their javelins at a distance, until they were driven from their covert and obliged to fly, tho' not before they had killed a Spaniard, and wounded seven, among whom was the lieutenant himself.

During this engagement, captain James Tristan, whom the admiral had sent ashore with the boat, would not suffer his men to land; but, after the fray was ended, rowed up the river to take fresh water, at a place that was quite covered with wood. From this grove the Indians poured upon him, in a number of canoes; and though he sustained their shock with great gallantry, it was impossible to shelter himself or his men from the showers of their javelins, by which he and his whole boat's crew were killed upon the spot, except one, John de Neia of Sevil, who chancing to drop over board in the midst of the fray, dived to the bottom, and gaining the shore, made his way through the thickest of the wood, to the colony, where he gave an account of the disaster. The new settlers, terrified at this misfortune, would have relinquished their town immediately, and gone on board of the admiral without orders, had not they been prevented by the lowness of water at the mouth of the river, which was not sufficient to float their vessel: nay, the sea beat so violently in that place, that no boat could be sent with advice of their distress to the admiral, who rode in a very dangerous open road, without a boat, and ignorant of the fate of Tristan and his crew, until he had the mortification to see them driving down the river, covered with wounds, and preyed upon  
by

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by a number of carrion-crows. Such a melancholy spectacle could not fail to create the utmost despondence among the people, who were now reduced to a small number, and concluded that the whole colony had perished. Nor were these presages without foundation: for the Indians, elated with the small advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the settlement, which they carried on night and day without ceasing; so that every Spaniard must have been killed, had not they removed eastward to an open strand, where they made a barricado of casks and other lumber, and planted their cannon in such a manner as to make great havock among the enemy, who durst not venture to approach those unknown instruments of carnage.

Mean while the admiral waited ten days for fair weather, so as that he might send ashore the only boat that now remained, for intelligence; and in this interval, some of the prisoners who were confined in the hold, burst open the hatches in the night, and leaped into the sea, and the rest being disappointed in their hopes of escaping in the same manner, hanged themselves in despair; so that now he had no hostages, by virtue of whom he could make peace with Quibio. The weather still continuing boisterous, and the people being extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, one Peter de le Desma, a pilot of Sevil, undertook to swim ashore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the surf began to run high. His proposal being embraced by the admiral, was put in execution, and he swam off again with a circumstantial account of what had happened, including a detail of divisions and dissensions among the men; for D. Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain authority and subordination, and they were unanimous in nothing but their resolution to leave

leave the place: they therefore begged the admiral would take them on board again without delay, otherwise they would put to sea in their own vessel, rotten as she was, and rather trust to the mercy of the waves and weather, than expose themselves to the barbarous resentment of the savages. In consequence of this information, Columbus resolved to stay and take them on board; and the weather becoming more favourable, they came off, with all their goods and effects, in his boat and some canoes lashed together, so that in two days nothing was left behind but the hulk of the ship, which was so much eaten by the worms as to be unfit for service.

The whole company being thus reassembled, to their mutual satisfaction, the admiral sailed along the coast to the eastward, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots, who thought he might have reached St. Domingo, by bearing away to the north; but he and his brother knew it was requisite to ply up to windward, before they should strike across the gulph that divides the continent from Hispaniola: and as he consulted his own judgment in this particular, the men began to murmur, from an apprehension that he intended to sail directly for Spain, altho' he had not provision sufficient for such a voyage. At Porto-bello he was obliged to leave the ship Biscaina, which was so leaky and worm-eaten that she could not proceed; and turning up along the coast, he passed the port Retrete, together with abundance of small islands, which he denominated las Barbas: thence continuing his course ten leagues, he, on Monday the 1st of May, 1503, took his departure from a place on the continent called Marmora, and stood to the northward, the wind and currents being from the east.

The pilots and navigators on board affirmed, that he was to the eastward of the Caribbees, but he himself



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himself was apprehensive that he should not be able to fetch Hispaniola, and this fear was verified: for, on Wednesday the 10th, he descried two very small low islands, which he named Tortugas, from the abundance of turtle found here and in the neighbourhood; and on the Friday following, after a run of thirty leagues northwards, arrived at the islands called Jardin de la Reyna, that lie ten leagues to the southward of Cuba. By this time, the ships being leaky and crazy, the men were harrassed at the pump, tho' very little able to support such fatigue, because the provisions were now reduced to a little biscuit, oil, and vinegar; and in this melancholy situation they were overtaken by a dreadful storm, in which the ship Bermuda ran foul of the admiral, and both had like to have foundered: however, they got clear of each other with much difficulty, and dropped all their anchors, tho' it was the sheet anchor alone that brought them up; and in the morning there was but one strand of the cable uncut, so that if this had given way, they must have perished upon some sharp rocks that were asfern.

The wind being abated, he sailed to an Indian town on the coast of Cuba, called Mattaia, where having purchased some refreshments, as the winds, currents, and condition of the ships would not permit him to bear up for Hispaniola, he stood over to Jamaica, pumping and baling all the way. Yet, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the water rose up almost to the deck; and when day appeared, he put into an harbour called Puerto Bueno, but finding no fresh water in this place, he steered to the eastward into another, called Santa Gloria, which is enclosed by rocks, where finding it impossible to keep the ships afloat, he ran them ashore along-side of each other, and propping them up on each side, so as to keep them upright, ordered sheds to be made on the poop and forecastle, under which the  
men

men might be secure from the inclemencies of the weather, as well as the attempts of the Indians. This expedient he chose rather than that of fortifying himself on shore, because he should be more able to restrain his seamen from irregularities, which might have incensed the natives, on whom he entirely depended for subsistence, his own provision having been either spoiled or consumed. As the natives resorted in great numbers to the ships with what they had to barter, he appointed two persons to superintend the market, and prevent abuses or frauds of either side, as well as to divide the purchase equally among the people, that nothing might be embezzled or engrossed. His regulations were alike agreeable to his own men, who were plentifully supplied; and to the Indians, who exchanged two little animals like rabbits, which they called hutics, for a bit of tin, and cakes of their bread named zabi, for two or three glass beads, tho' for a quantity of any thing, they received a hawk's bell; and a cacique or great man was sometimes presented with a small looking-glass, red cap, or pair of scissars.

These necessary steps being taken, the admiral's next care was, to consult with his officers about the means of transporting themselves to Hispaniola; and, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that two canoes should be sent thither, with an account of the misfortune which had happened to the admiral, and a letter to the governour, desiring that a ship might be sent immediately to his relief. The canoes being chosen for this dangerous expedition, James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's chief secretary, embarked in one, with six Christians, and ten Indians to row; and Bartholomew Fresco, a Genoese gentleman, went on board of the other, with the like number of hands; this last having orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival,

rival, while Mendez should continue his rout over land to St. Domingo. Thus disposed, they rowed to the eastermost point of Jamaica, under the conduct of the admiral's brother, who took care to supply them with the necessary provision for the voyage; and as the distance between the two islands amounted to thirty leagues, without any intervening land, except one little island or rock, about eight leagues from the coast of Hispaniola, he very judiciously waited for a calm, and having dismissed them on their voyage, staid till they were fairly out of sight, and then returned to his brother.

In a little time after the departure of these canoes, the men who were left began to grow sickly, in consequence of the fatigue they had undergone, and the change of provision; and (which is the case on all such occasions) a spirit of discontent diffused itself among them. They now caballed and murmured in private against the admiral, saying, he had no intention to return to Spain, where he was in disgrace with their catholic majesties; nor could he have any hopes of assistance from Hispaniola, the governor of which had already refused him shelter in his distress: and lastly, they suggested that Mendez and Fresco were both lost, otherwise the latter would have returned by this time, according to his promise. For these reasons it was their business to consult their own safety, by leaving the admiral, who was now lame in all his limbs with the gout, and follow their companions to Hispaniola, where they would be the better received by the commendary Lares, on account of their having abandoned Columbus, whom he hated. These arguments were suggested and encouraged by two brothers, called Porras, who assured them of protection on their return to Spain, from the bishop D. John de Fonseca, as well as from the Treasurer Morales, by whom their sister was kept as a concubine: and



such effect had the insinuations of these ringleaders, one of whom was captain of the ship Bermuda, and the other comptroller of the Squadron, that eight and forty of the men were persuaded to follow them at all events, and to provide themselves with every thing necessary for the execution of their purpose. On the 2d day of January, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had chosen for their leader, ascending the quarter deck, where the admiral lay confined to his bed, "What is the reason, my lord," (said he) that you will not return to Spain, but "keep us in this place to perish?" To this insolent interrogation, Columbus, suspecting the conspiracy, very calmly replied, that he did not see how they could return to Spain, until they should be assisted with a vessel from Hispaniola; that no man was more desirous than he to be gone, as well on account of his own private interest, as for the safety of his people; and that, for their satisfaction, he would again summon all his officers to consult about the means of gratifying their inclination. This judicious remonstrance had no weight with Porras, who said, it was now no time to talk; for that he should either embark immediately, or stay there by himself: then crying with a loud voice, "I am going to Spain with those that will follow me," all his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took possession of the fore-castle, poop, and round-tops, so that uproar and universal confusion ensued. The admiral, though lame in bed, hearing the noise of this tumult, started up in order to quell the mutiny, but was with held by his servants, who were afraid that he would be murdered by the conspirators. They likewise disarmed and confined his brother D Bartholomew, who had bravely rushed out upon the mutineers, with an half pike in his hand, and entreated Porras to be gone, without doing further mischief or making any attempt upon the

the life of Columbus, for which they could not fail of being one day severely punished. He did not think proper to regard this caution, but seizing ten canoes which the admiral had purchased from the Indians, embarked with all his followers, who expressed as much joy as if they had been already landed in Spain. Upon this occasion, a good number of the rest, who were not concerned in the combination, seeing themselves abandoned by their fellows, and despairing of relief, desired to be taken on board, to the infinite sorrow and mortification of the admiral, and those few who remained with the sick: and in all probability, had the people been in health, he would have been deserted by the whole company, except his brother, and his own faithful servants. The mutineers in the canoes rowed towards the east part of Jamaica, from whence Mendez and Fresco had taken their departure, and in the way committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, advising them to apply for redress and repayment to the admiral, who was the cause of all the injuries they sustained, and to put him to death in case he should refuse to give them satisfaction; for his design in staying was no other than to subject and involve them in such misery and oppression as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other island.

Having in this manner done their endeavours to embroil the admiral with the natives, they began their voyage for Hispaniola, with some Indians, whom they compelled to go on board every canoe as rowers. They had not made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, beginning to freshen, and the sea to rise, they shipped some water, and being unacquainted with the methods of managing those vessels, resolved to lighten them, by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the sea. This inhuman scheme

was

was executed on some, and the rest leaping overboard, swam until they were weary, then hanging by the canoes to breathe a little, the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands; so that eighteen of those poor wretches perished in this deplorable manner; and not one would have escaped, had not they kept a few to steer them back to Jamaica, as they now thought it impracticable to prosecute their voyage. When they landed, a council was held, in which some proposed to take the advantage of the easterly wind and currents, for running over to Cuba, from whence they would have a short cut to Hispaniola; others were of opinion, that they should return, and make peace with their admiral, or deprive him by force of the commodities and arms that were still in his possession: but by a majority of voices it was agreed they should wait for a calm, and put to sea again directly for Hispaniola. For this opportunity they tarried a whole month, during which they ravaged the whole neighbourhood of Aramaquique, which was the name of that town and district, and having made two unsuccessful efforts to perform the voyage, marched by land to the westward, plundering the defenceless natives, and the weak villages in their way.

As for the admiral, he exerted all his address and industry to efface the bad impressions which the mutineers had made among the Indians; so that they continued to supply him with provisions, while he employed his care and humanity for the relief of the sick, until almost all his people were recovered: but, as the daily expence of subsistence had produced a scarcity among the Indians, who saw very little more than is just necessary for their own occasions, they began to be remiss in their attendance, especially as they were already stocked with the commodities of the Christians. They were likewise influenced by the desertion and malicious in-



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sinuations of such a number of the Spaniards, who had left their chief in a situation which no longer commanded obedience and respect. In this dilemma, Columbus, with his wonted sagacity, fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with those savages. Knowing that in three days there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola, who was on board, to assemble the principal inhabitants of the district, that he might confer with them about an affair that concerned them nearly; and they obeying the summons, he told them by his interpreter, he and his people were Christians, and believed in God who created the heaven and the earth, protected the righteous, and punished the wicked; and therefore would not permit the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, tho' he had by his providence conducted Mendez and Fiesco to that island, because the intent of their voyage was laudable: that the same Almighty and all-just Being was incensed against the Indians for having neglected to supply his people with provisions, and determined to punish them with plague and famine; as a certain token or presage of which, they would that very night see the moon rise with an angry and bloody aspect, to denote the mischief that would certainly fall upon them.—This prophecy had different effects upon the Indians, some of whom were terrified, while others ridiculed it as an idle story: but when they perceived the moon in reality eclipsed, and perceived the darkness increasing as she rose, universal consternation prevailed among them, and they came running from all quarters, loaded with provision, and entreated the admiral with loud cries and lamentations to intercede with God in their behalf, that his wrath might be averted, and they would for the future take care to supply all his wants. In consequence of this promise, Columbus

said

said he would use his influence with God, and accordingly shut himself up, while they remained without, howling and imploring his assistance; and when he perceived the eclipse beginning to go off, he came out of his cabin, bad them be of good cheer, for he had prayed in their favour to God, who had forgiven them on their promise of being kind and hospitable to the Christians, and, as a testimony of his forgiveness, they would speedily see the moon lay aside her wrathful countenance and shine with her former splendour.—His prognostic being verified, they praised the God of the Christians, and ever after continued to provide plentifully for the subsistence of the admiral and his people; for, tho' they had formerly seen such eclipses, they did not think it was possible to foretell them without an immediate correspondence with the Deity, and therefore considered Columbus as a particular favourite of heaven.

Eight months having elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, of whom there was not yet the least intelligence, the people began to be dejected, supposing the messengers had either perished at sea, or been killed by the Indians of Hispaniola, in their way to St. Domingo. These fears were confirmed by the information of the natives, who said they had seen a canoe overset, driven upon the coast by the current. These apprehensions increased every day, and at last produced a second conspiracy, at the head of which was one Bernard an apothecary of Valencia, who, with two companions called Zamora and Villatoro, formed a scheme for deserting from the admiral, in imitation of the other mutineers; but, the execution of this project was prevented by the arrival of a vessel sent by the governour of Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to an anchor near the wrecks, visited the admiral

with compliments from the commendary, who being unprovided with a ship sufficient to carry off such a number of men, had sent a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon in a present; and these being delivered, Escobar, without waiting for a letter, weighed anchor and departed that same evening. Though Columbus was extremely mortified at his abrupt behaviour, he affected to say that the caraval had failed by his directions, because, the being too small to convey the whole company, he was resolved to stay for a larger vessel, in which they might all embark at once.—This declaration had such an effect upon the conspirators, that they postponed their enterprize: but the truth was, Lares, governour of Hispaniola, being apprehensive that the admiral, upon his return to Spain, would be reinstated in the government of that island, had sent Escobar to reconnoitre his situation, and see whether or not he might be easily destroyed. By this Caraval, however, Columbus received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of Mendez and Fiesco, at Hispaniola, and did not doubt, but that he should be relieved in consequence of their remonstrances.

We have already observed, that they embarked in two canoes from the easternmost point of Jamaica, and continued rowing and paddling two days, during which they sustained extremity of heat, thirst and fatigue; for, their fresh water was almost expended the first day, and some of the Indians actually died for want of refreshment. When the second day elapsed without their seeing land, they began to suspect they had not taken the right course, and universal despondence ensued: but their hopes were revived, when they saw the moon rise over land, which was a small island called Nabazza, at the distance of eight leagues from Hispaniola. Thither they rowed with their utmost efforts,



forts, and next morning going ashore, found it a barren rock without tree, shrub or spring; nevertheless, they took up plenty of rain water from the holes of the rocks, and some of them drank to such excess, as produced dropsies and other dangerous distempers. Having rested and refreshed themselves with such things as they could pick up along shore, they went on board in the evening, and steered their course to the nearest land of Hispaniola, which was Cape St. Michael, where they arrived in the morning. Fiesco, having reposed himself two days, would have returned to the admiral according to his promise, but neither sailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage, so that he was obliged to desist. As for Mendez, tho' he laboured under a quartan ague which was the effect of his sufferings at sea, he set out immediately for Xaragua, and gave an account of the admiral's situation to the governour, who after much importunity, gave him leave to go and purchase a ship at St. Domingo, which afterwards sailed to Jamaica, from whence the admiral sent her to Spain with packets for their catholic majesties, containing a detail of his voyage.

In the mean time, Columbus being willing to compose all differences, sent a messenger to the mutineers under the two Porras, inviting them to return to their duty, and comforting them with the hope of a speedy voyage to their own country, in as much as he had received the promise of being relieved, by a caraval from Hispaniola, which had brought him a present of bacon and wine, part of which he sent them as a confirmation of the truth of what he asserted. Their ringleaders dreading the consequence of a re-union, used all their art and eloquence in dissuading their adherents from embracing the terms proposed. They alleged that the admiral was a cruel and revengeful man,

who would take the first opportunity of gratifying his resentment, should they ever put themselves in his power; whereas by standing upon their own bottom, they should one day be able to effect their own release from this island, and then by their interest at court, they could not fail to bring their oppressor again into disgrace. As for the caraval from Hispaniola, they affirmed it was no other than a phantom, which the admiral, who was a great magician, had raised by enchantment; that the pardon he offered was a snare, and his whole soul a composition of delusion and deceit. These suggestions succeeded so well among their followers, that the messenger was dismissed, after having been told that they would peaceably depart for Hispaniola, provided the admiral would supply them with a vessel for that purpose; or, if he had but one, assign one half of it to them for their own convenience, and in the mean time give them an equal share of the clothes and commodities that were still in his possession; otherwise, they would come and take the whole by force of arms.

This threat they actually resolved to put in execution, and marched down to an Indian village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks; and the admiral being informed of their design, detached fifty men well armed, under the command of his brother, who had orders to expostulate with the rebels, and refrain from acts of hostility, unless he should be first attacked. D. Bartholomew, having reached a rising ground within bow-shot of the mutineers, sent a message to their captain, desiring a conference; but this condescension was treated with contempt, as the effect of fear, and they immediately fell upon his men in great confidence of victory; six of the boldest having taken an oath to fight their way directly to the lieutenant, whose death they believed would soon disconcert

cert his followers. However, they were disappointed in their expectation; for, at the very first charge, five of the six were slain, and among these John Sanchez, from whom Quibio made his escape, and John Barba, the very two first persons who drew their swords on board in support of the conspiracy. As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken prisoner, and his people so roughly handled, that they soon turned their backs and fled with precipitation; so that the lieutenant obtained a complete victory, and returned to the ships with a good number of prisoners: he himself being wounded in the hand, and only one gentleman of his side having received an hurt with a spear, of which he afterwards died. Next day the fugitives sent a petition to the admiral, imploring his mercy, and promising to submit themselves to his good pleasure; and he immediately gave them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection: but, in order to avoid future animosities, and a scarcity of provisions on board, he detained Porras in confinement, and appointed a proper person to command and lead them about the island, for the convenience of finding subsistence, in exchange for commodities, with which they were supplied by his direction. Among those of their side who suffered in the engagement, was Peter de Ledesma the pilot, who (as we have observed) swam ashore at Bethlem. This man, having received a number of wounds in the fray, fell over the rocks, and was not found till next day in the evening, when the Indians, to their utter amazement, discovered him alive. His skull was laid open so that his brains appeared, his arm was almost cut off, the calf of one leg hung down to his ankle, and one foot was sliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithstanding these desperate wounds, he frightened the Indians with curses and threats in such a manner, that they

G 4

would



would fly from him with the utmost consternation; and his condition being known, the admiral ordered him to be carried into an house, and attended by the surgeon, who during the first eight days, discovered some new wounds at every dressing, and yet the man recovered and did well.

All dissensions among the Spaniards being thus removed, the Indians grew more cautious of giving offence, and carefully supplied them with provision; and a year being elapsed since the Christians were wrecked upon the island, the ship we have already mentioned, which Mendez brought with the admiral's money at St. Domingo, arrived in Jamaica, and Columbus with his whole company, embarking on the 28th of June, set sail for Hispaniola, tho' the wind and current were contrary, and, after a troublesome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of August 1504. Here he was received with demonstrations of uncommon civility and regard by the governour, who lodged him in his own house, and fawned upon him with the most abject submissions; tho' this hospitality was altogether affectation; for, he set Porras at liberty, and threatened to punish those who were concerned in apprehending that rebel. When the admiral's ship was refitted, and another hired for the convenience of his friends and followers, he sailed for Europe on the 2d of September, and before he was two leagues at sea, the mast of the hired vessel coming by the board, he sent her back into the harbour to be repaired, while he himself proceeded on his voyage to Spain.—During the passage, he lost his own main-mast in a storm, and this damage being in some measure repaired by the skill and activity of the lieutenant, (for the admiral was lame of the gout) they were afterwards exposed to another tempest which carried away their foremast, and in that condition the ship arrived at the port of St. Lucar

Lucar de Barrameda. Upon his landing, he was informed of the death of his generous patroness queen Isabella, which overwhelmed him with concern; for, though he was courteously received by Ferdinand, that prince began to think the advantages he had stipulated for himself were too considerable, and accordingly he proposed new terms, which, however, did not take effect: for, the negotiation was interrupted by the accession of king Philip to the throne of Castile; and before Ferdinand returned to Valladolid, from whence he had set out to meet his son in law, Columbus, oppressed with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghost in that city. His body was afterwards, by the king's order, conveyed to Sevil; where it was magnificently interred in the cathedral, and the place distinguished by a monument, on which these words were inscribed.

A Castilia, y a Leon,  
Nuevo mundo dio' Colon.

Signifying;  
To Castile and Leon,  
Columbus gave a new world.

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## The Voyage of VASCO DE GAMA.

**T**HIS relation is extracted from the history of Osorio, bishop of Sylves; an author of such credit, that his name alone is sufficient to authenticate every particular.

In the reign of Henry son of John I. King of Portugal, who was a prince of an aspiring genius, and a great patron of navigation, many discoveries were made by his subjects, and under his auspices, on the southern coast of Africa, great part of which, together with some islands, fell under his dominion. His nephew Alphonso, who succeeded him on the throne, was too much involved in wars, to execute the schemes he had laid for extending his progress by sea; but the son of this prince, known by the name of John II. spared no pains or expence in promoting the interests of navigation.

Being informed by an ambassador from the king of Benin on the coast of Africa, that, at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from his country, there was a mighty prince to whom his master was tributary; and supposing this monarch to be no other than the famous Prester John, so much talked of at that period of time, he sent Peter de Covillam and Alonzo de Paiva by land, to obtain some intelligence of this potentate, as well as of the situation of India. Accordingly they travelled by the way of Grand Cairo to Tor on the coast of Arabia, from whence Covillam embarked for India, and Paiva set out for Ethiopia, after they had agreed to meet at a certain time at Grand Cairo. The first having visited Cananor, Calicut and Goa, touched



# A MAP of AFRICA.



T. Jefferys sculp

Zofala in Africa, from whence he proceeded to  
 den at the mouth of the red sea, on his return to  
 airo, where understanding his companion was  
 dead, he sent an account to the king of his pere-  
 rinations by a Jew bound for Portugal, and with  
 another embarked for Ormuz, from whence he  
 went over into Æthiopia, where he was hospitably  
 entertained, though never suffered to return.

At the same time when these missionaries de-  
 parted by land, king John sent to sea three ships,  
 under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, who  
 sailing one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the  
 farthest discovered part of Africa, descried the  
 mountains which he called Sierra Parda; passed by  
 the bay de los Vagueros, thus denominated from  
 the numerous herds of cattle which he saw on shore,  
 touched at the small island of Santa Cruz, entered  
 the river del Infanta, and finally reached the cape  
 which he called Tormentoso or Stormy; though the  
 king changed that appellation into Buena Esperanza  
 or Good Hope, because from hence he hoped to  
 discover the East-Indies. But, before this hope  
 could be realized, he quitted this life, after having  
 exhorted Emmanuel, his successor, to encourage  
 and finish his plan of navigation; nor was  
 his advice neglected. Emmanuel, who was a  
 prince of uncommon spirit, liberality and discretion,  
 had no sooner settled the domestick affairs of his king-  
 dom, than he ordered four ships to be equipped for  
 the discovery, and gave the command of them to  
 Vasco de Gama, a nobleman of great abilities, on  
 whom he likewise conferred the rank of admiral:  
 the other three ships were commanded by Vasco's  
 brother Paul, Nicholas Coelo and Gonzalo Nugnez.  
 They spent the night preceding their embarkation  
 in prayers and vows, at a chapel which Emmanuel  
 built by the sea-side within four miles of Lisbon,  
 and they were next day followed to the shore by



an infinite multitude of people, who, with loud acclamation, preferred vows to heaven for their prosperity and success, though many looked upon them with compassion, as sacrifices devoted to destruction.

Gama, however, and his captains went on board with great confidence and alacrity, and sailed on the 9th day of July in the year 1497, directing his course to the Canary islands, from whence he stood for the island of St. Jago; he was afterwards harassed by continual storms for the space of three months, and at length discovering land, came to an anchor in a large bay, where he hoped to obtain a supply of fresh water, of which the ships were in great want. Accordingly Cælo, who was sent to examine, found a pleasant river, the banks of which were covered with the most beautiful verdure, and thither the ships advanced in order to lay in a stock of wood and water. Here they saw vast numbers of seals; and the admiral being desirous of knowing the nature of the place, and the manners of the inhabitants, directed his people to catch some of the natives, whom he found to be real negroes by their black colour, thick lips and fleecy hair; but, they were altogether unintelligible, although some of the Portuguese on board were acquainted with almost all the languages used on the coast of Guinea.

They were received with great civility by Gama, who presented them with some clothes, small bells, glasses, beads and other trifles, with which they were extremely well pleased, and in return, supplied their benefactors with plenty of such provisions as the country afforded: but this friendly intercourse was not of long duration. One of the Portuguese having gone ashore to visit the natives at their own houses, was welcomed with great hospitality, and for his entertainment they killed a fatted seal,



feal, a disth that discomposed his delicate stomach so much, that he rose and retired with signs of loathing and disgust. Nor did his entertainers oppose his departure; on the contrary, they accompanied him to the shore: but he, distrusting their intention, no sooner came within hearing of his fellows, than he roared aloud for help, when some of the men coming immediately ashore to his assistance, the natives ran affrighted to the woods; and now looking upon the Portuguese as declared enemies, had recourse to their arms consisting of long lances headed with horn, which they throw with great dexterity and execution. With these weapons, they suddenly rushed out of the woods upon Gama and some officers who were employed in taking the sun's altitude, and attacked them with such fury, that they were obliged to retreat on board of their ships, after the admiral had been wounded in the foot. In consequence of this rupture, he set sail from that place, having given the name of St. Helena to the bay, and that of St. Jago to the river, because they were discovered on the days dedicated to these saints: a rule which they afterwards observed in all their denominations. Between this bay and the cape, he underwent such dreadful storms, the weather was so cold and the nights so long, that the people became dispirited and clamorous, surrounding Gama upon deck, and conjuring him, with the most pathetick remonstrances, to change his course and steer homewards, rather than persist in prosecuting a voyage from which nothing was to be expected but misery and destruction. Upon this occasion, all his resolution and address was necessary to refute their fears, to withstand their importunities, and maintain his authority: for, when they found him deaf to their entreaties, and firmly determined to answer the purpose for which he had embarked, they formed a conspiracy against his

his life, which being discovered by his brother Paul, he was obliged to exert his whole vigilance and caution to hinder it from taking effect. The ringleaders were put in irons, and among these all the pilots, so that he himself and some other officers were fain to perform their functions. At length, the weather took a favourable turn, and he made the Cape of Good Hope, which was doubled on the 20th day of November, to the inexpressible joy of the whole company, who thought there was now no obstacle to oppose the voyage. Coasting along shore, they enjoyed the prospect of a most agreeable country, diversified with wood and lawn, abounding with numerous herds of cattle, and well peopled with blacks, who resembled those of St. Helena bay in colour, features and proportion: when they spoke they seemed to sob; their privities were inclosed in small wooden cases, the rest of the body being quite naked; they played upon pipes, with which they made no contemptible musick, and lived in huts made of clay hardened in the sun, which were covered with straw and clods of earth.

Gama having run seventy three leagues to the northward of the Cape, found another bay, which he called Angra de San Blas, in the bend of which was a small island, where the ships lay to take in a supply of water. The land hereabouts was very fertile, abounding with large elephants and fine oxen, which the natives use as horses. There was also a prodigious number of seals of surprising fierceness, and a multitude of birds called penguins, about the size of geese, which have no feathers, nor do their wings, which are membranous, enable them to fly.

The fleet being watered in this place, set sail again, and, on the 8th day of December, was overtaken by a sudden storm that drove the ships out to sea, and overwhelmed the people with consterna-

tion; but when the tempest subsided, they approached the shore again, Gama being resolved to sail along the coast, as he was altogether unacquainted with the navigation of those seas. On the 10th of January, when they had proceeded about two hundred and thirty miles from their last watering place, they descried some small islands, that appeared extremely pleasant, decorated with lofty trees, and intervening meadows of a beautiful verdure, in which they saw great numbers of cattle grazing: they likewise perceived the black inhabitants walking upon the shore. The admiral, having anchored upon the coast, sent one of his men who was well versed in languages, to pay his respects to the king, who received him with great civility, and dismissed him with presents such as the country produced. These people were more civilized than the other blacks they had seen; they wore bracelets on their arms, brazen helmets on their heads, and sabres by their sides, with handles of tin, and scabbards of ivory, not inelegantly fashioned. In the fleet were ten malefactors who had been condemned to death, but pardoned on condition they would undertake this voyage; two of these Gama left on shore, at his departure from this place, to which he gave the name of St. Raphael, that they might inform themselves of the nature and customs of the country, so as to be able to give useful intelligence to the Portuguese when the ships should return.

On the 15th of January, they arrived at the mouth of a very large river, the banks of which were covered with verdure, and shaded by trees loaded with fruit. Gama came to an anchor in this place in the evening, and in the morning the natives came on board in little boats, without fear or hesitation, and were treated with great civility, though the Portuguese could not understand their language.



language. In a few days, four of their chiefs came to pay their respects to the admiral, who entertained them sumptuously, and at their departure, presented them with clothes of silk, which they received with transports of joy. One of these, who spoke the Arabick tongue very imperfectly, said he had lately come from a country not very distant, where he had seen ships like those belonging to the Portuguese; a piece of information which greatly elevated the spirits of the sailors, who hoped in a little time to reach the treasures of India. On the banks of this river, which he called de Bon Sinyas or of good signs, Gama erected a stone pillar, on which was carved a crucifix above the arms of Emmanuel; for, he had brought from Lisbon several columns of the same kind, to be left as monuments of the Portuguese discoveries.

Having repaired his ship and refreshed his men, he on the 24th day of February set sail again, and on the 1st of March descried four islands lying at small distances from one another; and from one of these came seven vessels, in full sail, towards the admiral's ship, which was distinguished by the flag. When the people on board of them thought they were near enough to be heard, they set up a shout, and hailed the Portuguese in the Arabic language; and when they approached still nearer, they began to play upon flutes and other musical instruments, and with loud huzzas congratulated the admiral on his arrival in these parts. They were of a dusky hue, but well made, and elegantly dressed in silk, their heads being covered with turbans of fine linen, interwoven with gold; and they wore faulchions at their sides, and targets upon their arms. They were received on board by those Portuguese who understood their language, and the admiral ordered them to be treated with a collation; during which, he desired to know the name of this island, together  
with

with the manners and customs of the inhabitants, as well as the exact distance from India. To these interrogations, they replied, that the island was called Mozambique, subject to the king of Quiloa, and ruled by a governour appointed by that prince. Great part of it (they said) was inhabited by Arabian merchants, who carried on a considerable commerce by sea to Arabia, India, and other parts of the world; they gave him to understand that he had already passed by the country of Zofala, abounding with gold; and lastly satisfied him with respect to the distance from Mozambique to Calicut: so that the people with uplifted hands, returned thanks to heaven, concluding that now their labours were almost at a period.

Mozambique is situated in that part of Africa formerly known by the name of Agefimba, in sixteen degrees of southern latitude; a country rendered unwholesome by the redundancy of its marshes, and inhabited by blacks, who live in huts made of clay and thatched with straw. Yet here, for the convenience of traffic, was a great resort of ships from all quarters; tho' at this time, the wealth and power of the island was chiefly engrossed by the Arabians, who used small gallies fastened with wooden pegs instead of nails, and caulked with ropes of palm leaves. This tree, which rises to a great height, is covered with long prickly leaves, its spreading boughs project an agreeable shade, and produce nuts of a large size called cocoas.

These Arabians knew the use of the compass, had very accurate sea-charts, were furnished with quadrants and other astronomical instruments, and in a word, very little inferior to the Portuguese in their knowledge of navigation. They conversed familiarly and jocosely with the sailors, whom they supposed to be Mahometans from Barbary, and after having received marks of the admiral's generosity,

sity, they were entrusted with some presents of greater value for the governor, whose name was Zacocia. This man was so well pleased with Gama's politeness, that he resolved to visit him on board, and immediately sent notice of his intention; so that the admiral had time to remove the sick out of sight, and arm the people for his reception. He appeared in rich embroidered clothes, wearing a curious sword set with diamonds, and attended by a number of armed men, with drums and trumpets sounding as he advanced. After the ceremony of salutation, he and his followers were elegantly entertained by Gama, with whom he socially conversed, and among other questions, asked whether they were Turks or Moors, what kind of warlike arms they used, and desired to know if he had any books concerning the Mahometan religion: the admiral said he came from the west, that besides the weapons with which he saw his people armed, they had engines of such amazing power, as not only to destroy whole armies of men, but even to shake and overturn the strongest citadels; he likewise told him that he was bound for India, and begged he would supply him with pilots in whom he could confide.

This request was cheerfully granted by Zacocia, who returned next day with two pilots, and they, for a certain sum of money, undertook to conduct the ships to Calicut: in a word, there was a mutual exchange of good offices between the Portuguese and these Islanders. But this harmony was not of long continuance; for, the governor no sooner discovered the new comers to be Christians, than all his friendship was converted into rancour, and he began to lay schemes for Gama's destruction. The Portuguese were reviled and insulted by the populace; the admiral's life was endangered by a plot, which was happily discovered; one of the pilots made



made his escape, and some of the people, who were sent on shore to wood and water, being attacked by seven vessels, would have lost their lives, had not the other boats come to their assistance, and poured in a volley of shot among the aggressors, who fled in the utmost consternation.

The admiral finding he could stay here no longer with safety, steered to another island at the distance of four miles, from whence he set sail for Quiloa; but being driven back by contrary winds and tempestuous weather, he was solicited by an Arabian, who begged to be taken on board with his little son, and set on shore at some convenient port, from whence he might repair to Mecca, which was the place of his nativity. Gama was glad of an opportunity to indulge this person, who he understood was an excellent pilot, and his brother Paul having, in the scuffle at Mozambique, carried off another man well skilled in navigation, the weather no sooner became favourable, than they went to sea again in three ships; for the store-ship had been emptied and destroyed by the admiral's order. Their intention was to make Quiloa, which however, they could not reach; a disappointment owing to some error in their course, or perhaps to the fraud of the Mozambique pilot, who now advised Gama to steer for Mombaze, a city which, he said, was chiefly inhabited by Christians, and in all respects well adapted for the reception of his ships, and the refreshment of the men. The admiral was accordingly persuaded to follow this advice; for, his provisions began to fail, a great number of his men were already dead, and the survivors in a sickly and lingering condition.

Mombaze is situated in a bay upon an high rock, almost surrounded by the sea, the harbour being defended by a fortress furnished with all manner of warlike stores, and a strong garrison; the soil is  
fertile,

fertile, abounding with all sorts of fruits and vegetables; the country is well stocked with cattle, the water is excellent, the climate temperate, the air healthy; and the inhabitants live with taste, in houses built after the European manner, and adorned with variety of fine painting.

Scarce had the Portuguese anchored, when they perceived a galley rowing towards the flag-ship, and in her observed about one hundred men in Turkish habits, armed with bucklers and scymetars. They would have come on board without hesitation, had not they been prevented by order of the admiral, who denied admission to any but four, who by their appearance seemed to be above the common rank, and even these were obliged to lay aside their arms, before he would suffer them to mount the ship's side. This caution of Gama's they extolled with many encomiums, and told him that their king having been informed of his arrival, had sent them with compliments of congratulation, and proffers of alliance, which the admiral said he would embrace with pleasure: next day, other deputies came with a supply of refreshments for the men, which his majesty sent as a small token of his friendship and regard, desiring, at the same time, that he would approach the city and come to an anchor in the harbour, where he could more conveniently give the Portuguese fresh proofs of his good will. Gama, with all suitable acknowledgment, promised to comply with his request, and in the mean time, as a mark of his confidence, sent on shore two of his exiles, who were treated with the utmost hospitality by the king, who ordered some of his people to accompany them while they should take a view of the city, and then desired them to carry a sample of spices to Gama, by which he might be induced to trade with his subjects, rather than

than proceed farther, and run the risque of a dangerous voyage.

The admiral, being overjoyed at the report, immediately ordered the anchors to be weighed, in order to advance into the harbour; but his own ship being by the violence of the tide in danger of running a-ground, he commanded the sails to be furled, and the anchors to be dropped; and the other captains followed his example. The Mozambique pilots seeing these orders executed, without knowing the reason, and being conscious of their own treachery, which they now imagined he had discovered, threw themselves into the sea, and were taken up by the people of some boats, who landed them on the opposite shore, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Gama, who called aloud to them, desiring them to bring the fugitives on board. By this providential occurrence, he discovered the perfidious design of the king, whose affected civility was no other than dissimulation; for, having heard of what passed at Mozambique, he had laid a scheme for destroying the Portuguese in the harbour: but his project being thus accidentally baffled, he at midnight sent a detachment of men, in small vessels, to cut the cables, which however were preserved by the vigilance and activity of the admiral, who, as soon as he could get clear of the bay, directed his course for Melinda. In his passage he took an Arabian ship, which he dismissed, after having detained fourteen prisoners, and among these a person of distinction; from whom he received some useful instructions concerning his voyage. On Easter-day he arrived at Melinda, which stands in a delightful plain, surrounded with pleasant gardens, stocked with a variety of trees, and in particular the orange, whose blossoms yielded a most agreeable and diffusive odour. The country was rich and plentiful, abounding not only with tame cattle, but also with game



game of all kinds, which the natives took pleasure in hunting. The houses are built of square stones, in a magnificent taste. The inhabitants, though of a black colour, are not inelegant in their dress; their heads are adorned with turbans, the body is naked to the waist, from which a garment of silk descends to the middle of the leg: their arms consist of small bucklers, scymetars, spears, with bows and arrows; they are extremely fond of military glory. Their religion is Paganism, and they worship their images with great superstition.

Gama understanding the coast was shelvy, and the sea tempestuous, and being warned by the danger he had so narrowly escaped at Mombaze, came to an anchor at a good distance from the city, when his Arabian prisoner, perceiving his caution, offered to go and sound the sentiments of the king; and at the same time told him, that there were four ships then in the harbour, commanded by Christians, who having already transacted their business at Melinda, would in a little time set out for India, whither Gama might have the benefit of their company.

Although the admiral did not repose much confidence in the sincerity of this prisoner, yet, as the advice could be followed without running any risque, he ordered him to be landed on an island opposite to the city, to which he was immediately transported and conducted to the king, who was an old man, of a mild and gentle disposition, and so much pleased with the character which the Arabian gave of the Portuguese, that he forthwith sent a person with his compliments to Gama, and a present of sheep and other refreshments. The admiral, unwilling to be outdone in generosity, repaid this courtesy with presents of greater value, ordered his ships to move nearer to the shore, and sent an invitation to the Christians of India, who were transported

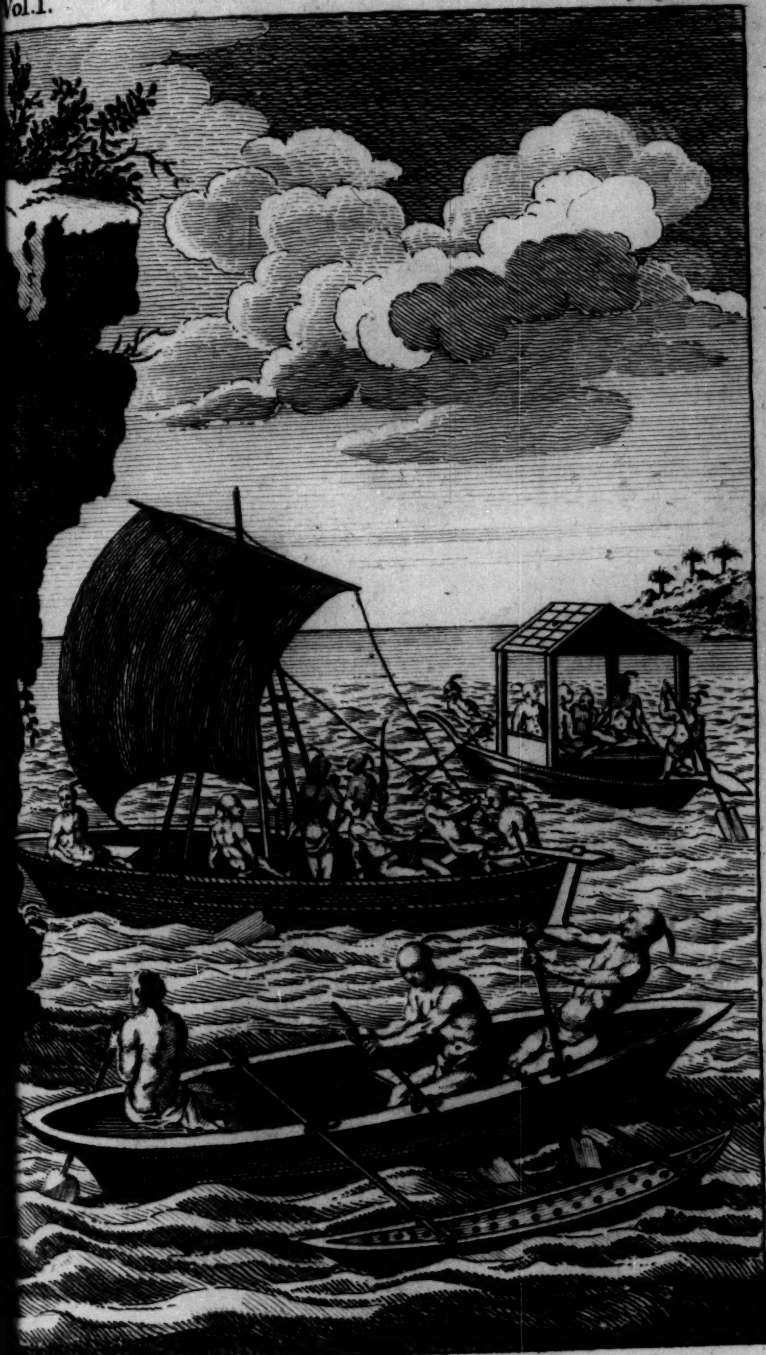
ported with joy at sight of strangers who professed the same faith, and gave him many useful instructions with regard to the prosecution of his voyage.

The king being disabled by the infirmities of age from visiting the admiral in person, sent on board his son, to whom he had delegated the supreme authority; and this young prince, royally attired, and attended by his nobles, came in a galley that resounded with the musick of drums and trumpets. Gama, that he might pay the greater honour to his guest, went in his barge to receive him, and at meeting he was embraced by the young prince with great familiarity and affection. He behaved on this occasion with uncommon politeness; his conversation was sensible and sprightly; he looked upon the admiral with marks of pleasure and admiration, examined the ships attentively, and expressed the utmost friendship and regard for the Portuguese: and this good disposition was improved by the generosity of Gama, who made him a present of all the prisoners he had taken. But this cautious officer declined his pressing invitation to go ashore, although he offered to leave his own sons as pledges of his safety. However, he next day ordered himself to be rowed in his barge nearer the city, that he might enjoy a more distinct prospect of its beautiful situation; and received another visit from the prince, who furnished him with an able pilot, and obtained his promise, that on his return he would take Melinda in his way, as the king expressed an eager desire of sending an ambassador to his Portuguese majesty, with whom he was very ambitious of engaging in the most friendly alliance and intercourse.

On the 22d day of March he set sail, and steering to the northward, they in a few days passed the line; then standing to the east, and crossing a broad sea, the pilot descried the mountains of Calicut; a discovery which was no sooner imparted to the admiral,

miral, than he returned thanks to heaven in a transport of joy, and unfettered all the prisoners, that there might not be one sorrowful heart on board. That same day, the ships, dropping anchor within two miles of Calicut, were surrounded by a number of canoes full of Indians, who came to gratify their curiosity. Of these Gama inquired by his interpreters, in what place their king resided; and one of the exiles being sent on shore to obtain intelligence, was environed by a vast multitude, who thronged about him in such a manner, that he was lifted from the ground, and borne backwards and forwards like a wave of the sea, until he was at length perceived by two merchants from the city of Tunis in Barbary, who were not a little astonished to see an European in that place; and one of them, whose name was Monzaida, supposing him by his dress to be a Spaniard, accosted him in Castilian: but, when he understood the stranger was a Portuguese, he expressed great joy; for he had been chief contractor for the warlike stores which King Ferdinand had purchased at Tunis: he therefore desired the exile to introduce him to the admiral, and they came on board together. Here he was kindly received by Gama, who, finding him a very intelligent person, took this opportunity to inform himself of many interesting particulars touching the affairs of Calicut; and the Moor, after having made a tender of his service to the Portuguese, gave him to understand, that his arrival would be very agreeable to the king or Zamorin, whose chief care and aim was to extend the commerce of his subjects: for although his dominions were extensive, and many princes his tributaries, yet the most considerable part of his revenue arose from duties upon merchandises. Next day, Gama sent two of his officers with Monzaida to wait upon this monarch, whose residence at that time was at Pandarene, three miles from Calicut.





*Boats on the Malabar Coast.*



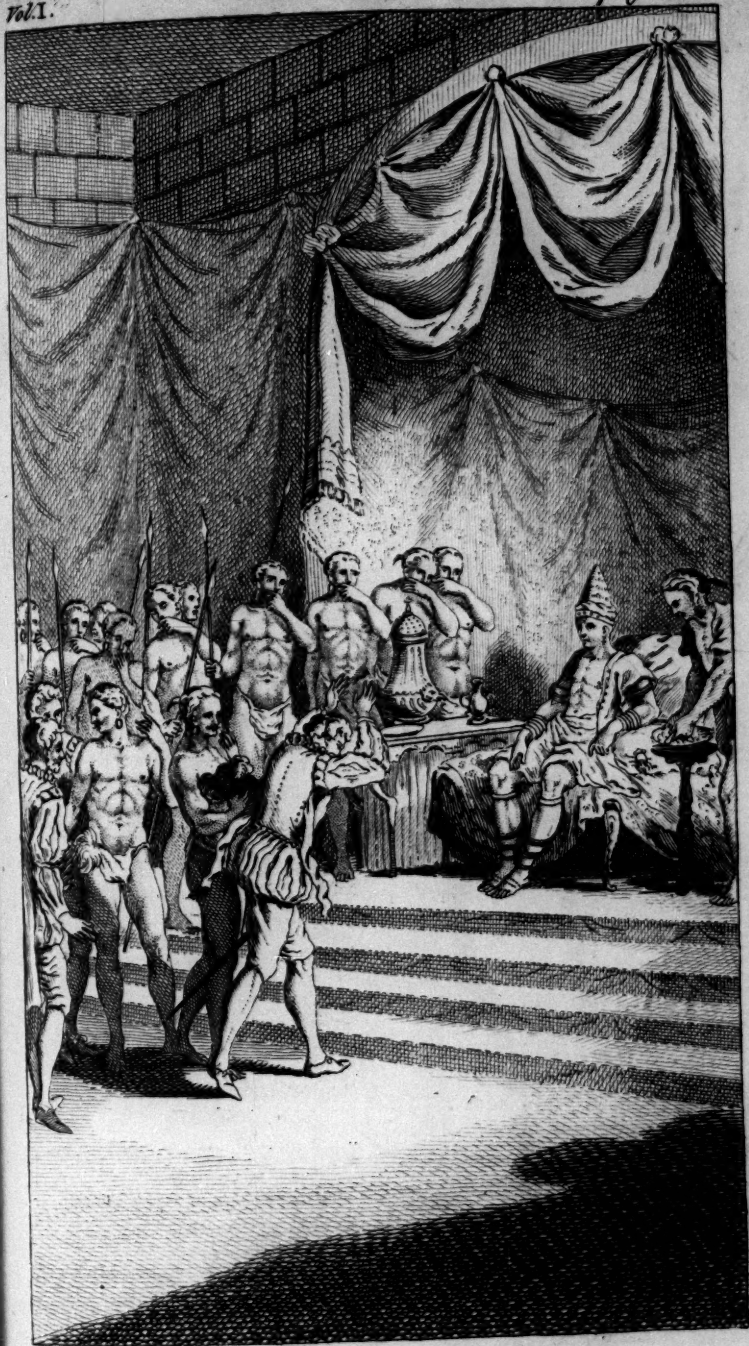
Calicut. These deputies being admitted to his presence, told him, that the king of Portugal having heard of his fame and dignity, had sent hither one of his admirals, who would be glad to attend his majesty, with proffers of friendship and alliance in the name of his master. To this address, the king made a most gracious reply, assuring them that he would chearfully engage in a league with the king of Portugal, and for that purpose take the first convenient opportunity of conferring with the admiral, whom in the mean time he advised to bring the ships nearer to Pandarene, that they might be the less exposed to the tempests, which were frequent at that season of the year; and he accordingly sent a person to pilot the ships into a safer riding.

In a few days, one of their chief magistrates, whom they call catual, being sent by the zamorin to conduct Gama to the palace, the admiral gave the command of the ships to his brother Paul, with whom, and Nicholas Cœlo, he left directions, importing, that in case he should meet with any accident on shore, they should give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly homewards with an account of the discoveries they had made; and that they might not be destitute of hands to navigate the vessels, he chose only twelve men to attend him in his visit. When landed, he was put into a sedan-chair by order of the catual, who was carried in another by his side, while a number of their nobles, called naires, and all the rest of the company walked on foot to the city; where having dined, they went on board of canoes, and sailed down the river to a place where they found a great number of men and sedans waiting for their convenience. Thence Gama and his attendants were conducted by the catual into a magnificent temple, at the entrance of which they were met by four men naked from the head to the middle, from



whence to the knees they were covered with a kind of filken robe; over the shoulder of each were three strings tied under the left arm. They sprinkled a sort of holy water, and presented to every individual of the company a powder of a sweet-scented wood, with which they made the sign of the cross on their foreheads. The walls of the temple were adorned with curious painting, and in the middle was a little round chapel, with a very small door made of brass, to which they ascended by steps. By the wall opposite to this entrance stood an image, which could not be distinctly viewed, because the place was dark, and admittance was denied to every body except the priests, who approaching and pointing at the figure, called aloud *Maria, Maria*: then the catual and his attendants prostrated themselves, and worshipped with great devotion; and the Portuguese, imagining they invoked the mother of Jesus, adored the blessed Virgin in the manner of their own country.

Having quitted this temple, they entered another of equal magnificence, from which they walked in procession towards the palace, through infinite crowds of people, which pressed upon them in such a manner, that the nobles were obliged to clear the way with their drawn swords. At the palace gate they were received by several grandees, whom they call *caimaes*, and when they approached the audience chamber, they were met by an elderly man, clothed in a filken garment that reached from his shoulders to his heels, who embraced Gama in the most friendly manner. This venerable person, who was master of the bramins, conducted the admiral into a spacious hall, accommodated with several rows of seats rising one above another, in the manner of an amphitheatre: the floor was covered with rich carpets, and the walls hung with silk tapestry, curiously interwoven with gold. The king lay re-  
clined



*The Lamorin granting audience to  
Vasco de Gama.*

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clined on a magnificent sofa: he was dressed in a silken garment fastened with golden clasps; on his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; his fingers sparkled with precious stones; his person was graceful, and his deportment noble and majestic.

Gama, having done obeisance in the Portuguese manner, was very graciously received, and placed on a seat just by him, while his attendants were likewise desired to sit down; and in this order they were treated with a collation, after which the zamorin expressed an inclination to know the particulars of the embassy. To this hint the admiral replied, that the custom of his country would not permit him to communicate his instructions in a public assembly: upon which the king ordered him to be conducted into another apartment, whither he himself immediately repaired in person, together with the master of the bramins, and some of the chief nobility. Here Gama, in a studied speech, gave him to understand, that Emmanuel, a prince of great dignity, curiosity, and an aspiring soul, having heard of the fame of India, and in particular of the Calicut empire, was extremely solicitous to enter into a league of friendship with such a renowned monarch, for the accomplishment of which, he (Gama) was sent to that country; and he did not doubt that such an alliance would greatly tend to the mutual advantage of both princes: and in confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he said he would produce the letters of his king at the next audience. The zamorin answered in a few words, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than such an alliance; and then ordered the casual to attend the admiral to the apartment which was appointed for his residence, while others were directed to provide for the accommodation of his attendants.

Calicut, which is on the coast of Malabar, was at that time the most celebrated mart in India, abounding with all sorts of merchandise, partly its own produce, and partly imported from other countries. The people are bigotted pagans, have a great number of temples, and pay implicit faith to their priests or bramins, in divine as well as human affairs. The king is always instructed in the mysteries of their religion by these doctors; whose persons are accounted so sacred, that even in time of war they have free communication with all parties, and it would be deemed the greatest impiety to offer them the least violence. The three strings which they wear over their right shoulder is a symbol of the trinity; and they believe that God came upon earth in human form for the redemption of mankind; doctrines which in all probability they learned from christian travellers. They study mathematicks and philosophy; but their religion is nothing else but the vilest dissimulation, under the cloak of which, they are guilty of the most fraudulent practices. They are great observers of prodigies and omens, and keep a grand festival on the 22d day of October, when not only the boys, but even men advanced of age, march out and skirmish with one another, in such a manner, that many die of the wounds they receive, and such death is greatly coveted as the immediate conveyance to everlasting happiness. They have likewise other holidays, on which some devotees are always ready to sacrifice their lives in public. Their year begins in the month of September, after the day and hour have been fixed upon as auspicious by their augurs and astrologers. The nobility are prohibited from marrying, lest a family should render them remiss, and detach them from the feats of war: nevertheless they may keep mistresses, provided they be of the same rank with themselves, for it is unlawful to  
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lie with their inferiors; and when a nobleman is convicted of this crime, he is cut in pieces by his peers. Women of quality may indulge themselves with any number of gallants under the same restrictions, and jealousy is utterly unknown. A nobleman's son does not inherit, because this promiscuous commerce renders it uncertain who is the father; he therefore adopts his sister's son, who is educated at the king's expence, and inured betimes to dangers and fatigue; yet they are not permitted to use their arms in the field of battle, until the king has distinguished them by some military honour: but, as they are furnished with proper masters to instruct them in their exercises, they are surprizingly expert in the use of their arms, consisting of bows and arrows, javelins and scimitars. Their pride soars to such a degree of haughtiness and absurdity, that they think their blood is tainted even by the accidental touch of a commoner, and that nothing can wash out the stain but the blood of the offender; for which reason the common people in the streets are obliged to call aloud and proclaim their condition, in order to avoid such a dangerous encounter. Nobility cannot be forfeited by the foulest crime, nor can a person of mean birth acquire it by the most illustrious actions. The lower class of people must marry with those only of their own profession; and no man is permitted to follow any other business but that by which his father earned his livelihood. Instead of paper, they use the leaves of a certain tree, upon which all their memorable events are recorded with a style or sharp pointed pen; and these leaves being cut into regular forms, are tied up compactly between two pieces of polished wood.

Calicut is situated in the middle of the Malabar coast, a little distance from the sea, and fills up a large extent of ground; not that the inhabitants



are very numerous, but because the houses are detached from one another, and surrounded by gardens: yet they are but meanly built, and make a poor figure, though they serve as a contrast to the palace, which is the only stone edifice in the place, and has a very magnificent appearance. As for the soil, it is extremely fertile, and abounds with all the necessaries, and even conveniencies of life.

Gama, having reposed himself three days, had a second audience of the zamorin, to whom he delivered the letter and presents he had brought from Emmanuel: the first was received with great respect; but the admiral perceiving the king looked at the presents with contempt, told his majesty, that he ought not to be surprized if they did not seem suitable to his dignity, for Emmanuel could not foresee the success of the voyage; and, after all, he could not have brought a more valuable present than the friendship of his royal master, who was desirous of establishing a trade, which would greatly redound to the advantage of Calicut. He likewise, after Monzaida had explained the letter, desired his majesty would not communicate the contents to the Arabians, who, he understood from the moor, were his professed enemies; and the zamorin dismissed him with a friendly caution, to beware of these perfidious men. Nor was this advice unnecessary or unreasonable; for those merchants, partly through pique to the Christian name, and partly from the prospect of seeing their trade and profits diminished by the interloping Portuguese, spared no pains to render them odious and suspected. After having prepossessed the ministry, by dint of bribes, they represented Gama as a bloody pyrate, who had behaved in an outrageous manner in every place at which he had touched in the prosecution of his voyage, and was come to Calicut in order to carry on his hostile intentions, under the cloak of a treaty, which was  
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no other than a meer pretence. By these means they secured the interest of the catual, who filled the ears of his prince with false insinuations to the prejudice of the strangers, and at length obtained an audience for the Arabians, who went to the palace in a body, and, by the mouth of an orator, made a very vehement and artful remonstrance, importing, that the Portuguese were a cruel and perfidious people, inflamed with avarice and ambition; that they had, without the least provocation, ravaged the whole coast of Africa, and made themselves masters of a great part of *Æthiopia*; that Gama himself had fallen upon Mozambique, made great slaughter at Mombaze, and taken several ships like a professed pyrate; and the cargo he had brought was poor and inconsiderable, and the presents such as rather denoted the contempt than the regard of the sender: that therefore his interest could never prompt him to prefer such beggarly strangers, and they too of suspected morals, to his antient friends the Arabians, who had given such repeated proofs of their fidelity, and from whose commerce the greatest part of his revenue was derived: and, lastly, that if, notwithstanding these representations, he was resolved to encourage the Portuguese, they for their parts would immediately withdraw themselves into other countries where they could settle to more advantage.

This declaration, supported by the slander and advice of the catual, made an impression upon the mind of the zamorin, who was naturally fickle and irresolute; and Gama being apprised of a design against his life, resolved to return to his ships with all possible expedition. For this purpose he retired before break of day, but was overtaken at Pandarene by the catual, who, though still under the mask of friendship, told him, that before the king could grant his request, it would be necessary for him to re-

turn, and acquit himself of some imputations touching the design of his voyage, and in the mean time to bring the ships nearer the shore, and deliver up their sails and rudders as pledges of his fidelity. Gama replied with great spirit, that he would sooner forfeit his life than act so much beneath the dignity of his character; and sent a letter to his brother, repeating his injunctions to sail homewards, provided he should be detained. Two days being spent in fruitless altercation, it was at length agreed, that the Portuguese goods should be landed, with some men to take charge of the warehouse, and then Gama was allowed to go on board of his ship, from whence he wrote a letter, complaining of the catual's treachery; and the zamorin promised to inquire into his conduct, and if he should be found guilty, to punish him according to his demerits. Mean while he advised the admiral to send his goods to Calicut, where they might be sold to great advantage; and, in consequence of this advice, they were conveyed to that city at the king's expence. The ships were moved nearer the city, and several Portuguese allowed to go on shore every day, in order to view the country, and make observations on the temper and genius of the inhabitants. Gama took all possible methods to promote peace and amity; and, by another letter to the zamorin, proposed that a person should be left at Calicut to transact the affairs of his Portuguese majesty. To this message, which in all probability alarmed those Indians, he received such a surly and insolent answer, that he resolved to break off all manner of correspondence with a prince of such levity; and this neglect incensed him to such a degree, that he ordered the goods to be seized, and the two Portuguese factors to be thrown in prison. Gama, having in vain demanded reparation for this outrage, resolved to make reprisals by force of arms; and,



and, attacking the first ship that stood into the harbour, made prisoners of six naïres, or noblemen, with nineteen servants; then ordered his own vessels to set sail, in hopes that the king would be alarmed at his seeming departure, and restore the goods and men in exchange for the captives. The scheme succeeded to his wish; for no sooner were his ships perceived to be under sail, than the zamorin sent a dispatch on board of Gama, to tell him, he was surprised at his having made prisoners those noblemen who had never given him the least offence; and to assure him, upon his honour, that he would restore the goods, and release the two Portuguese, whom he detained for no other purpose, but that of carrying the letters which he intended to write to his brother Emmanuel. Induced by these promises, the admiral returned to his former station; and next day, the two Portuguese came with letters for the king, together with an officer, who told him, in name of the zamorin, that he might leave a person at Calicut to manage the affairs of Portugal, and sell the goods which he had not sent on board, because they might be sold to great advantage. To this message Gama replied, that he had altered his resolution with respect to the resident, and that, if the zamorin of Calicut wanted to see his subjects released, he must send back the goods without delay. Next morning, Monzaida appeared before him in vast perturbation, and earnestly begged he might be carried to Portugal, as the friendship he had manifested for the admiral rendered it impossible for him to live in safety at Calicut: he said, the Arabians had raised great commotions in the city, and by various calumnies exasperated the zamorin against the Portuguese; and that he himself had escaped with the utmost difficulty. Gama took this man into his protection, and behaved towards him with great friendship and generosity; and that

same day received his goods, which were sent in seven boats: but by this time he was determined to carry his prisoners into Portugal; and therefore told the persons by whom they were re-demanded, he had been deluded by so many low artifices, that he looked upon the people to be altogether void of faith and honour; that all the goods were not restored, and though he had not leisure to inquire into the particulars that were wanting, he would not release the prisoners, but conduct them to Portugal, as testimonies to convince Emmanuel of the insults his admiral and ambassador had suffered from the zamorin of Calicut, at the instigation of the Arabian merchants. Having made this declaration, he ordered his cannon to be fired, that he might strike terror into the hearts of these Calicutians, who immediately fled in the utmost consternation.

Tho' the king was enraged at this presumptuous behaviour, he was obliged to stifle his resentment, because all his ships were laid up at that season of the year; but as contrary winds detained the Portuguese for some time upon the coast, he fitted out twenty light ships, which were well furnished with men and arms, and sent them against Gama. His hope, however, was baffled by a sudden storm that scattered his ships; and the Portuguese, taking the opportunity of a favourable gale, soon lost sight of Calicut. Yet the admiral dismissed one of the captives from the first port at which he touched, with a letter to the zamorin, in which he expatiated upon the snares which had been laid for his life by the Arabians: but, notwithstanding these combinations, he said, he still retained the utmost regard for his majesty, between whom, and the king of Portugal, he would labour with all his might to establish such a league as would redound to their mutual advantage; and as to the nobles who were his prisoners, he assured him upon his word and honour, that they

they should be treated with the highest respect, and sent back to their native country. Having taken this step, Gama, in his voyage homewards, steered towards the islands of Anchédive, and in his course thither was attacked by seven ships, belonging to a pirate named Timoia, a bold intrepid fellow, very much dreaded in those seas. However, his vessels were soon obliged to sheer off; and one of them, loaded with provisions, was taken by the Portuguese. At one of the Anchédive islands, which are five in number, about four miles distant from the coast, the admiral touched, in order to refit his ships, which had been shattered by the violence of the weather; and among the multitude that crowded to the shore to view the strangers, was the prime minister and confidant of Zabaio, king of a neighbouring island called Goa, an able prince of great power, courage and ambition. This minister came to Gama, in his master's name, and, having paid his compliments in the Italian tongue, told the admiral, that Zabaio, having heard of his fame, was disposed to do him all the service in his power; and if he stood in need of provisions, arms, or money, he might demand them with the greatest freedom.

Gama was struck with the graceful appearance of this person, and admired his fluency of language, as well as the quickness and facility with which he answered his interrogations. He said, he was by birth an Italian; that he had been taken by pirates in his youth, during a voyage to Greece with his parents, and, after having undergone a variety of misfortunes, and seen himself cut off from all hope of revisiting his native country, he had been obliged to enter into the service of a Mahometan prince. He, in his turn, asked a number of questions, that seemed to denote an artful and uncommon curiosity; so that Gama began to suspect him of being a spy, and was so strongly influenced by




the conjecture, that he ordered him to be seized and put to the rack; an expedient which justified his surpicion: for, by dint of torture, he was fain to confess, that he was by birth a Pole, and by religion a Jew; and that Zabaio, having a design to attack the Portuguese ships, had sent him on purpose to discover their strength, and manner of fighting. The admiral in consequence of this confession, set sail immediately, detaining the Jew, who afterwards became a Christian, under the appellation of Jasper, and was very serviceable to Emmanuel on many occasions: and the fleet, proceeding on the voyage homewards, was becalmed in such a manner, that a long time elapsed before they reached the coast of Africa. Magadoxa, which was the first place they descried, being at that time inhabited by Arabians, Gama battered the city with his cannon, and sunk or destroyed all the ships in the harbour; he was afterwards attacked by eight Arabian ships, which he defeated, and would have taken, had there been wind enough to manage his sails; and at length arrived in the amicable port of Melinda, where he again met with a most friendly reception, and was supplied with refreshments for his men, who were quite exhausted by sickness and fatigue. Being afraid of finding difficulty in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, should the season be advanced, he sailed from hence, after a stay of five days only, carrying along with him an ambassador from the king of Melinda to Emmanuel; and, as he had not a sufficient number of men left to navigate three ships, he ordered that which his brother commanded to be burnt, because she was crazy and leaky, and divided the crew between himself and Nicholas Coelo.

On the 27th day of February he reached the island of Zanzibar, about eight leagues from the continent, where he found plenty of cattle feeding  
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on a rich and fertile soil, abounding with springs of excellent water, and covered with delightful woods interspersed with wild citrons, which diffused the most agreeable odour. The prince of this island, though a Mahometan, having entertained the Portuguese with great hospitality, and furnished his ships with a supply of fruits and fresh provisions, Gama sailed from thence along the coast, and passing Mozambique, took in wood and water, with some provisions, at St. Blas; but the wind would not permit him to touch at the places where he had left the exiles. On the 26th of April he doubled the Cape, from whence he sailed to the island of St. Jago, where the two ships being separated by a violent storm, Nicholas Coelo steered directly for Lisbon; but Gama was obliged to put in at the island of Tercera, on account of his brother, who for a long time had languished in a sickly condition, and was now so ill, that he could not bear the motion of the ship: he accordingly ended his days in this place; and the admiral, having performed his obsequies with all possible decency, proceeded on his voyage to Lisbon, at which he arrived in the year 1499; though Coelo had been before-hand with him, and given a full detail of the voyage to his Portuguese majesty, who received them with equal joy and surprize, and distinguished both commanders with marks of peculiar favour.

The



## The Voyage of PEDRO ALVAREZ de CABRAL.

**E**MMANUEL king of Portugal, encouraged by the success of Gama, resolved to prosecute his discoveries, and settle a trade with India; and, for that purpose, equipped a fleet of thirteen ships, furnished with fifteen hundred men, and all manner of warlike stores, and bestowed the command of it upon Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, a person in whose courage and abilities he reposed the most unbounded confidence. This admiral was directed to effect, if possible, a treaty of commerce with the zamorin of Calicut, and obtain permission from him to build a fort near the city, for the security of the Portuguese; but, in case that prince should prove averse to such intercourse, and ill-disposed towards the Christians, to declare war, and treat him as an enemy. He was likewise ordered to wait upon the king of Melinda, with Emmanuel's acknowledgments of his hospitality, to testify that his embassy was extremely acceptable; and that the king of Portugal would do every thing in his power to cultivate the friendship of such an amiable prince. On board of the fleet were five Franciscan friars, of distinguished piety and zeal for religion, who undertook the voyage with a view to make converts, and perform divine service to the Portuguese who should settle at Calicut, in case matters should be amicably determined with the zamorin.



Thus instructed and provided, Cabral set sail on the 8th day of March, in the year 1500, and having passed the island of St. Jago, met with such a furious tempest as scattered the whole fleet, so that one ship having lost almost all her rigging, was driven back to Lisbon; and Cabral, after the storm abated, having waited for her two days, proceeded on his voyage, steering to the westward. On the 24th day of April, one of the seamen descried land, to the inexpressible joy and surprize of the admiral, who never dreamed of making such a discovery; and who, having approached the coast, sent his master on shore in a boat, to examine its nature and situation. He soon returned with a favourable account of the country, which was clothed with a beautiful verdure, shaded by tall trees, abounding with excellent water, and inhabited by naked people, of a dusky olive hue, with long lank hair as black as jet.

This account was afterwards confirmed by several officers, who went ashore to make observations; but, in the midst of their joy, they were overtaken by a dreadful storm, that drove the ships from their anchors, and tossed them for a considerable time along the coast; until at length they found a very safe and commodious harbour, which the admiral named Porto Seguro. Here also Cabral sent on shore some officers to reconnoitre, and they returned with two fishermen whom they had taken in a canoe; but they were so slow of apprehension, that the Portuguese, by all the signs they could contrive, found it impossible to make them understand their meaning. However, Cabral ordered them to be clothed, and presented with some small bells, brass rings, and looking-glasses, and then to be set on shore. They were extremely pleased with these bawbles, which they shewed in an ostentatious manner to their countrymen, who, allured

allured by such trifles, flocked in great numbers to the fleet, with fruits and provisions, which they bartered for things of little or no value: in a word, the ships and the dress of the Portuguese, together with almost every thing they beheld, filled them with the utmost astonishment.

Cabral himself, going ashore, ordered an altar to be erected, under the shade of a large tree, where service was performed in presence of the natives, who listened with silent admiration, and by their gestures seemed to express a deep sense of religion. In his return to the fleet, they followed him in a transport of joy, singing aloud, blowing a kind of trumpets, throwing arrows into the air, and with uplifted hands seemed to thank heaven, for the arrival of such a godlike people. Some of them ran into the sea and swam after his barge, others attended him in canoes, and could hardly be prevailed upon to return.

While he lay at anchor in this place, taking in a supply of water and provisions, his people were surprised with the appearance of a strange fish that was cast on shore: it was as thick as a large hog's-head, and about twice as long; its head and eyes resembled those of an hog; its ears were not unlike the elephant's; but it had no teeth: the skin was about an inch thick, covered all over with bristles, and the tail about five feet in length.

The admiral having erected a marble pillar, in commemoration of the discovery, called the country Santa Cruz, though it afterwards acquired the name of Brasil; and dispatched one of his officers, called Jasper Læmio, to Portugal, with an account of its nature and situation.

Brasil, which lies on the south of the line, is very extensive, and in some parts almost adjoining to Peru: it is a fertile and pleasant country, and so healthy, that the natives seldom die of any other distemper

distemper than old age. It is watered by many large rivers, and a vast number of delightful streams: the plains are large and spacious, affording excellent pasturage; the harbours are extremely commodious and easy of access; and the whole country affords a most beautiful prospect, diversified with hill and dale, shaded by thick woods, on which are many trees fraught with medicinal virtues. All the natives seem beardless, because they carefully pluck the hairs from their faces, with an instrument made for that purpose. They are strangers to letters and religion, bound by no laws, and ruled by no particular government; but when engaged in war, they chuse him for their general, whom they know to be the bravest and most expert in martial affairs. The people in general wear no cloaths, though the nobility are covered from the waist to the knees, with skins of parrots, and other birds of various plumage: their heads are almost adorned with caps, made of the same kind of feathers. The women comb and dress their hair with a good deal of nicety, while the men are shaved from the forehead to the crown. Those who affect the ornaments of dress have holes in their ears, nostrils, lips, and other parts of the body, decorated with precious stones of various colours; and the women adorn themselves with little shells, upon which they put a very great value. In war the Brasilians use bows, with which they shoot so dextrously, that they very seldom miss their aim; and their arrows are pointed with fish-bone that will penetrate the thickest boards. They live chiefly by hunting, and feed occasionally upon monkeys, lizzards, snakes, and mice. The boats they use are made of the bark of trees, large enough to contain thirty men, each, and while some row the vessel, others beat the water, in order to frighten the fish, which being thus alarmed, swim up to the surface, and are caught in large calabashes,

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disposed in a certain manner upon the surface for this purpose. They sow no corn, but make their bread of a certain root, which is poisonous, if eaten before it is duly prepared by being squeezed and dried in the sun, and from this also they distil a kind of liquor, by which they are intoxicated even to a degree of frenzy. They are great observers of omens, and deal much in forcery, which is practised by a certain set of men whom they hold in high veneration, and consult on all emergencies. These wizzards generally carry an arrow, to the end of which is fixed a calabash cut in the shape of a man's head: within this gourd they kindle the leaves of a certain plant, and snuff up the smoke, which is very intoxicating, until they begin to reel, gnash their teeth, foam at the mouth, roll their eyes, and twist themselves into various contorsions, which the spectators imagine are the effects of divine inspiration: during these transports, they utter an unconnected jargon, which is reckoned an oracle: they are every where attended by crowds, who testify their respect by loud acclamations, music, and dancing; and the most beautiful women, married and unmarried, are given up to their possession.

In this country, the husbands may, for any slight cause, repudiate their wives, and, if they should be found guilty of adultery, have a right to kill or sell them as slaves. The natives in general are lazy and slothful, and spend the greatest part of their time in feasting, singing and dancing to an immoderate degree. In their dances they form a ring, though every individual remains in the same place, beating the ground with a sort of transport, according to the variation of the song, which is rude and inharmonious, composed in honour of their own exploits, and military courage; and while one set is thus engaged in dancing, another is employed in supplying them

them with liquor, which they swallow until they drop down in a state of brutal insensibility.

They live in huts made of wood, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with a double or triple row of palisadoes, and several families dwell under one roof, connected by a kind of sacred tie: for they will with pleasure sacrifice their lives in defence of one another. They never engage in war with a view to enlarge their territories, but to maintain their dignity, when they think it is impaired by any injury or affront: in such cases they chuse a council of seniors to estimate and regulate the expence or preparations of the war, and then elect a general, who visits every house, and in set harangues encourages and animates the men to deeds of glory. Besides their bows and arrows, they use swords made of very hard wood, with which they cut and maim their enemies in a terrible manner; and they carry on war by stratagem rather than open force. Part of the prisoners they immediately eat, and the rest being reserved for festivals, are in the mean time indulged with plenty of provision, and even furnished with women for their pleasure; but when the fatal day of rejoicing comes, the plump-est of these miserable wretches is brought forth in fetters, and his mistress, as a mark of affection, ties about his neck the rope by which he is led to sacrifice. Then, being fastened to a pillar, he is painted with a variety of colours, and adorned with feathers, and between whiles loosened, and cheered with plenty of victuals and liquor, while the people feast in public, dance, drink and sing for three days successively; on the fourth, the captive's arms and legs are untied, and, with ropes round his waist, the women and boys pull him along towards a cave, while others pelt him with oranges, which he picks up and throws at them in his turn, with all the appearance of unconcern, and even of mirth; and when the spectators insult him with abusive language, declaring

declared that now he will suffer the punishment due to his crimes, and be killed, cut in pieces, and eaten; he replies, with an undaunted air, that as he has always lived, so will he die, like a brave man, in defiance of all their tortures; if they kill him, he has likewise slain many of their countrymen; tho' they may glut themselves with his flesh, he is satisfied with reflecting, that he has been often regaled upon the mangled bodies of those who were the friends and relations of his murderers; and that he has brothers, companions, and kindred, who will revenge his death. When he arrives at the cave, the person by whom he had been kept in custody, having painted his body, and adorned his neck with feathers, enters with a sword, which he brandishes over the victim's head, dancing, singing, or whistling all the while. The captive, in the mean time, attempts to catch the weapon, but is prevented by the boys and women, who pull different ways so as to confine him to the spot where he stands; in this situation he continues until the executioner stuns him with several blows, after which he cleaves his skull with one stroke, and cuts off his hands: this amputation being performed, the women throw the body on a fire of wood, where it lies until all the hair is scorched off; then opening the belly, they take out the intrails, and the rest of the carcass is divided into small pieces, on which the barbarians feast with the utmost satisfaction.

The constant adversaries of those Brafilians, who live in huts, are another people of the same savage and brutal disposition, inhabiting the woods and mountains, among whom no crime but murder is punished; and when this is the case, the relations of the murderer are obliged to deliver him up to those of the deceased, who put him to death; then the kindred of both join in performing the funeral rites over the two bodies, which they inter with mutual



mutual lamentation : but should the assassin escape, his daughters, sisters, or some of his nearest kinswomen are delivered up as slaves to the kindred of the defunct ; and thus the injury is atoned, and all resentment buried in oblivion.

Such was the estate of Brasil, when it was first discovered by Cabral, who took his departure from it on the 29th day of April ; and in the beginning of the next month was surprized by a furious storm, which rushed down so suddenly, that before the sails could be handed, and other necessary precautions taken, four ships that ran foul of one another were dashed in pieces, and every soul on board perished in sight of their friends and companions, who could not give them the least assistance. Notwithstanding this dreadful disaster, the remaining seven proceeded on their course, and were again separated by severe weather ; but on the 27th day of July, six of them came in sight of one another, the seventh having put back to Portugal, after the crew had been reduced to six men, by thirst, hunger and fatigue.

Cabral, having turned the Cape, descried a most pleasant country, shaded with trees, abounding with cattle, and watered with excellent rivers ; but the inhabitants refusing to supply him with provisions, or to enter into any sort of intercourse with the Portuguese, he sailed along the coast, until, coming in sight of two islands opposite to the main land, he espied two ships at anchor ; but the people on board of them no sooner perceived his vessels, than they slipped their cables, and crowded all their sails to make their escape. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they were soon taken by the admiral, who, understanding they belonged to one Fonteima, a prince of that country, related to the king of Melinda, generously dismissed them, without having touched the gold and merchandise which they had brought from Zofala.

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On the 24th day of July, he arrived at Mozambique, where he watered his ships without any obstruction, and laid in a fresh stock of provisions; and, having hired a pilot for Quiloa, proceeded on his voyage, in sight of several beautiful and well cultivated islands, subject to the king of that country, whose dominions on this coast are two hundred miles in extent. He and all his people are Mahometans, though some are quite black, and others of a tawney colour: they speak Arabick and several other languages, which they learn from the different nations that trade among them: their dress resembles that of the Turks and Arabians, and they live with elegance and taste. Quiloa is about four hundred miles distant from Mozambique, divided from the continent by an arm of the sea. The island is stocked with plants and trees, watered with refreshing springs, and abounds with tame cattle as well as with wild beasts, which afford the diversion of hunting. The soil is very fruitful, the city large and populous; the houses are magnificently built and elegantly furnished; and their ships, which resemble those of Mozambique, laid over with a sort of frankincense instead of pitch.

Cabral, having come to an anchor in this port, sent a message to the king, whose name was Abraham, importing that he had letters for him, containing proffers of friendship and alliance from his Portuguese majesty; and that, as he himself was restricted from going ashore, by the express orders of this royal master, he hoped his majesty would be so indulgent as to gratify him with an audience upon the water. The king received his messengers in the most friendly manner, and immediately sent one of his domestics to the admiral, with presents, and a promise that he would next day give him a meeting according to his desire. Accordingly he appeared upon the water, in a vessel richly adorned;

ed; his attendants were clad in purple embroidery, silk, and fine cotton, and armed with swords and daggers, the handles of which were set with diamonds; while the harbour resounded with the joyous music of flutes and trumpets. Cabral, on the other hand, saluted him with the sound of cannon, and ordered all his officers, who were dressed in the most elegant manner, to attend him in their boats, he put off in his own barge, and was rowed up to the king's galley. There he saluted his majesty with great respect, delivered Emmanuel's letters, written in the Arabian language, and communicated the particulars of his embassy, which were joyfully received by the king, who said he should henceforth consider Emmanuel as his brother, and at all times study to advance his honour and promote his interest. It was likewise agreed, that Cabral should next day send on shore a person to confirm this friendship by a solemn league, and every thing seemed to promise a lasting and advantageous alliance, when this favourable disposition was destroyed by the malicious and artful insinuations of the Arabians, who, actuated by jealousy and pique, represented the Portuguese as blood-thirsty pyrates, who under the cloak of friendship, would strip the king of all his possessions, and ravage his whole country with the utmost cruelty and avarice. These mischievous calumnies had such an effect upon the king, that he not only laid aside all thoughts of engaging in a league with the Portuguese, but he conceived a rooted aversion to them, ordered the garrison to be immediately reinforced, and began to put the city in a posture of defence. These particulars being communicated to Cabral by the king of Melinda's brother, who happened to be at Quiloa, he resolved to waste no more time in this place, and set sail for Melinda, where his arrival gave inexpressible



pressible joy to the people and their sovereign, who instantly provided refreshments for the whole fleet.

The admiral, having come to an anchor, sent ashore the ambassador whom Gama had carried to Portugal, and along with him some of his own people, with valuable presents to the king from Emmanuel; with which his majesty was so well pleased that he next day appeared in public, mounted on a fine horse richly caparisoned, which among other things was sent by the king of Portugal: in this manner he proceeded to the sea-side, where Cabral and all his officers waited for him in their boats, and were received by him in the most courteous and cordial manner. The admiral, however, notwithstanding his pressing solicitations, made but a very short stay in this place; but left two exiles, with directions to travel, if possible, into that part of Æthiopia which lyes above Egypt, where Emmanuel had heard there was a Christian prince, and to inform themselves of the manners and customs of his people.

The fleet weighed from Melinda on the 7th day of August, and crossing the Indian sea with a fair wind, they on the 22d reached the island of Anchediva, where the admiral staid a few days to refresh his men: from thence he steered for Calicut, where he arrived on the 30th, and the zamorin was no sooner informed of his arrival, than he dispatched two of his naires or noblemen, and a considerable merchant who was a native of Cambaya, to salute Cabral in his name. These were treated with the utmost respect by the admiral, who sent ashore with them John Sala, a gentleman who had accompanied Gama, and Jasper Gama, who had been formerly in the service of Zabaio, but having embraced the Christian faith, was now known by the surname of his patron: together with these, went four of the Indian noblemen who had been carried

carried to Portugal, and the sight of them dressed in the Portuguese fashion, now yielded the zamorin infinite pleasure.

Resolving to give audience to Cabral in one of his royal seats near the sea shore, he went thither in grand procession, with a number of his nobles, preceded by the sound of gold and silver trumpets; and the admiral put off in his barge, attended by several officers, after having left the command in his absence to Sancius Thoares. On landing, he was received by a body of the nobles, who had provided a sedan in which he was conveyed to the palace, a magnificent structure, adorned on the inside with silk embroidered tapestry. Here Cabral having paid his compliments to the zamorin, who was clad in rich attire sparkling with diamonds; he was seated by him in a silver chair, and Emmanuel's letters being read and interrupted by Jasper, the zamorin made the warmest protestations of friendship, granted to all the Portuguese the liberty of a free trade in his dominions, and assured them of his protection. He, moreover, assigned to them a large house near the shore, for the use and convenience of those who might be left to transact the affairs of Emanuel; and, as a confirmation of this grant, ordered it to be recorded on a golden plate: he likewise directed that a standard with the arms of Emmanuel should be fixed on the top of the building, as a testimony of its being appropriated to the use of his Portuguese majesty.

During these transactions, he was informed that a large ship, having on board an elephant, had set sail from Colchin to invade the kingdom of Cambaya, and, in consequence of this intelligence, he conjured Cabral to attack this hostile vessel; and that he might have a particular account of the behaviour of the Portuguese, he sent some of his domesticks to observe the engagement. For this ser-

vice, the admiral allotted one small ship commanded by Pedro Ataide, assisted by three able officers, whose names were Duarte Pacheco, Vasco Sylveira, and John Sola; and when the zamorin saw how light Cabral made of the matter, he was struck with astonishment, and waited the event with the utmost impatience. The Portuguese was scarcely prepared for the battle, when the ship appeared; however, they immediately bore down upon her, without going so near as to give the enemy an opportunity to avail themselves of their darts and the superior number of their men, and continued plying her with the great guns, until, seeing a great many of their people killed, they began to despair of success, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight: accordingly she, by favour of the night, entered the harbour of Cananor, forty miles north of Calicut, where four Arabian vessels lay at anchor; but, finding they were pursued by the Portuguese, they put to sea again, and, the engagement being renewed, they were thrown into such consternation, that they suffered themselves to be driven into the harbour of Calicut, to the amazement of the zamorin, who, having heard from his people with what intrepidity the Portuguese behaved in the battle, desired to see the individuals, on whom he bestowed the most lavish encomiums and some valuable presents, though the person whom he most distinguished was Duarto Pacheco, the most gallant gentleman of the age in which he lived.

This atchievement, while it raised the reputation of the Christians, excited the envy of the Arabians, who not only renewed their private batteries, infusing a thousand groundless suspicions into the mind of the zamorin; but also bought up all the spices at extravagant rates, rather than the Portuguese should compleat their cargoes. Nay, these proceedings were connived at by the king, whose honour



honour and sincerity Cabral had already begun to doubt, because some of the hostages on board, having swam ashore, he had forbore making restitution, or giving any satisfaction on that head. He therefore sent an officer to complain of these injuries, and represent to the zamorin, how he had engaged his honour, that the Portuguese ships should be loaded within twenty days, whereas three months were already elapsed, and their cargoes still incomplete, while the Arabian ships were supplied with great facility and expedition, contrary to the treaty, by which it was stipulated that no nation should be allowed to purchase any quantity of spices before the Portuguese had received their full cargo. Upon this remonstrance, he pretended to be highly offended at the behaviour of the Arabians, and desired that Cabral would do himself justice by unloading their vessels, and putting the cargoes on board of his own ships, for which he should pay no more than the just value to the merchants.

This permission the admiral considered as a snare, in consequence of which the Arabians might be so incensed as to fall upon and destroy the Portuguese who were ashore; and howsoever fatal the event might be, he knew the zamorin could easily clear himself, by throwing the blame upon the Christians, as the aggressors and beginners of the disturbance. He therefore debated with himself about the resolution he should take on this occasion, when Ayres Correa, who was left on shore as chief agent, pressed him by letters to make use of the liberty granted by the zamorin; and, finding him still backward, conjured him to act with spirit for the interest and honour of Emmanuel, in such stimulating remonstrances and protests, that Cabral seeing his courage called in question, resolved to do something that would acquit his character of that imputation: perceiving an Arabian ship ready to

put to sea, he sent a person to tell the captain that he must not depart without his permission, and the Arabian paying no regard to his order, he commanded his officers to man and arm the boats and tow the vessel back into the harbour. The owner, who was a man of great wealth and influence at Calicut, being enraged at this outrage, assembled all his friends and adherents, and going in a body to the king, complained of the insult, and demanded redress against those audacious pyrates, who presumed to act in contempt of his majesty's authority. To this representation, the zamorin made such a reply as gave him to understand that he should not be displeased at any plan of revenge they should execute; and, thus assured, they with several naires and their followers, amounting to four hundred, repaired in a riotous manner to the Portuguese house, threatening destruction to Correa, who immediately made a signal of distress to the fleet, and in the mean time put himself in a posture of defence, though the number of his men did not exceed seventy. The admiral, being ill of an ague, sent Sancius Tobaris with a detachment in the long boats to assist their companions, and, if possible, bring them safe on board; but, before they could land, the Arabians had forced open the gate, broke down part of the walls, poured in successive showers of arrows, and at last entered sword in hand to destroy Correa and his people, who, seeing their deaths inevitable, made a most furious resistance, and shed abundance of blood, until they were overpowered by numbers, and their leader slain. Fifty were killed upon the spot, and the remaining twenty forced their way to the sea-side, and were taken on board, where, however, the greatest part of them died of their wounds. Correa's son Antonio, a boy about ten years of age, was conveyed to the shore by Nunnez Leitan, a dragoon, who defend-  
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ed him with incredible valour, but, in spite of all his efforts, the child must have perished, because there was no boat near the place, had not a sailor taken him on his shoulders and swam with him on board, at the hazard of his own life; and this boy afterwards signalized himself by many brave and gallant achievements.

Cabral was extremely afflicted at this massacre, which happened on the 17th day of December; and, being enraged against the zamorin, who took no notice of the event, nor any step to vindicate his own character, he called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved to revenge the murder of their countrymen; and, in consequence of this determination, they attacked ten large Arabian vessels in the harbour. The battle was maintained for some time with great obstinacy on both sides; but, at last, the Portuguese boarded them, and killed above six hundred of the enemy. Being in want of hands, the admiral reinforced his complement with the prisoners, and finding three elephants in the prizes, killed and salted them for provision, which began to be scarce: then the Arabian ships, being plundered, were set on fire; and the flames alarmed and terrified the inhabitants of Calicut to such a degree, that they ran up and down in the utmost distraction, howling, and uttering the most dreadful imprecations; but, they were not so quit of their fears: for, next day, Cabral bringing his guns to bear upon the town, demolished many public as well as private buildings, and made great havock among the people; in so much that the zamorin was struck with a pannick, and betook himself to flight, after having seen one of his dearest friends laid dead at his feet by a cannon-ball.

The massacre of the Portuguese being thus re-  
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venged,



venge, the admiral sailed for Cochin, about seventy miles to the southward of Calicut: the city is incircled by the windings of a river, and there is a capacious harbour, where ships may ride in safety. Though the soil is barren, the country yields an agreeable prospect, because it is shaded by a great number of trees, and affords plenty of pepper; and as for the people, they nearly resemble the Calicutians. Cabral having heard that the king was well disposed towards the Portuguese, no sooner arrived, than he sent an Indian to his majesty, to desire that he might be furnished with spices and other commodities at a reasonable rate. This messenger, whose name was Michael, had been one of that religious sect whom the Indians call Togues: these devotees affect an utter contempt of all worldly things, and live by begging; they frequent markets and public places, where they preach up their particular tenets with great zeal and vehemence; but, in general, they are cheats, who impose upon the people for selfish views, under the cloak of simplicity and religion. Michael, however, was an exception to that general rule; for, he possessed an honest heart that abhorred such deceit, and accordingly became a sincere convert to the Christian faith. On this occasion, he returned with a very civil and polite answer from the king, who expressed his joy at the arrival of the Portuguese, and cheerfully promised to supply them with every thing they wanted. Articles of friendship were immediately settled, and the admiral sent some persons ashore to present him with some silver plate, and purchase a quantity of spices: these he received in a very hospitable manner, and lodged in a strong large house, where they resided until their business was finished, under the protection of several naires appointed for that purpose.

During

During these transactions, Cabral received invitations from the kings of Cananor and Coulam, to come and trade in their ports; but, as he had already engaged to take his goods from the king of Cochin, he thanked them for their kind intention, and excused himself on account of his previous contract; promising, however, to trade with them in case he should not be able to complete his cargo at Cochin. At the same time he was visited by two Indian Christians from the city of Cranganor, who having been instructed in the gospel, which is said to have been propagated in those parts by St. Thomas, intreated Cabral to carry them to Portugal, from whence they might travel to Rome and Jerusalem, which they fervently longed to see; and the admiral granted their request without hesitation.

The ships had already taken in their cargoes, when the king received information that the zamorin of Calicut had equipped a fleet of twenty large ships, besides a great number of small vessels, on board of which were fifteen thousand soldiers, in order to revenge the loss and insult he had sustained in his capital: and this intelligence being communicated to Cabral, he prepared his ships for an engagement, and sailed directly to meet the enemy; but, a contrary wind hindered him from falling in with them, and they seeing with what resolution he endeavoured to engage, were seized with consternation, and declined the action: so that, without further obstruction, he set out on his return to Portugal, having left Gonzalo, Barbosa, and Laurence Morena, with some others to manage the affairs of Emmanuel at Cochin. When he came upon the coast of Cananor, he received another invitation from the king, in consequence of which he entered the port of that city, which is large

and spacious, situated in a bay, and forming a most commodious harbour. The country abounds with all the necessaries of life. The reigning king was rich and liberal, and as to his government and way of life, differing but little from the rest of the princes in Malabar. Here the admiral purchased some cinnamon and ginger, but so little in quantity, that the king, upon the supposition of his having been robbed at Calicut, sent him a message importing that his purse was at the service of Cabral, and begged he would use it as freely as if it belonged to Emmanuel. The admiral thanked his majesty for his generous offer, which however he declined, after having shewn to the messenger a round sum of money, to convince him that he stood in no need of such assistance, and that he forbore making a larger purchase, because the ships were already loaded.

On the 16th day of January, he sailed from this place, having taken on board an ambassador to Emmanuel; and, being a little way short of Melinda, took a very rich ship, which he dismissed as soon as he understood she belonged to an Arabian merchant of the kingdom of Cambaya, telling the commander, that Emmanuel was at war with none in India but the zamorin of Calicut and the Arabians of Mecca, from whom he had received the most flagrant indignities. Soon after this incident, the fleet was overtaken by a terrible storm, by which the ship of Sancius Tovar was driven upon a bank, where, after the crew and cargo were taken out, she was burnt by the admiral's order, that she might be of no service to the enemy: but, notwithstanding this precaution, the king of Mombaze found means to recover the cannon. Cabral intended to have touched at Melinda, but, as the wind did not favour his design, he continued his  
course



PEDRO ALVAREZ DE CABRAL. 177

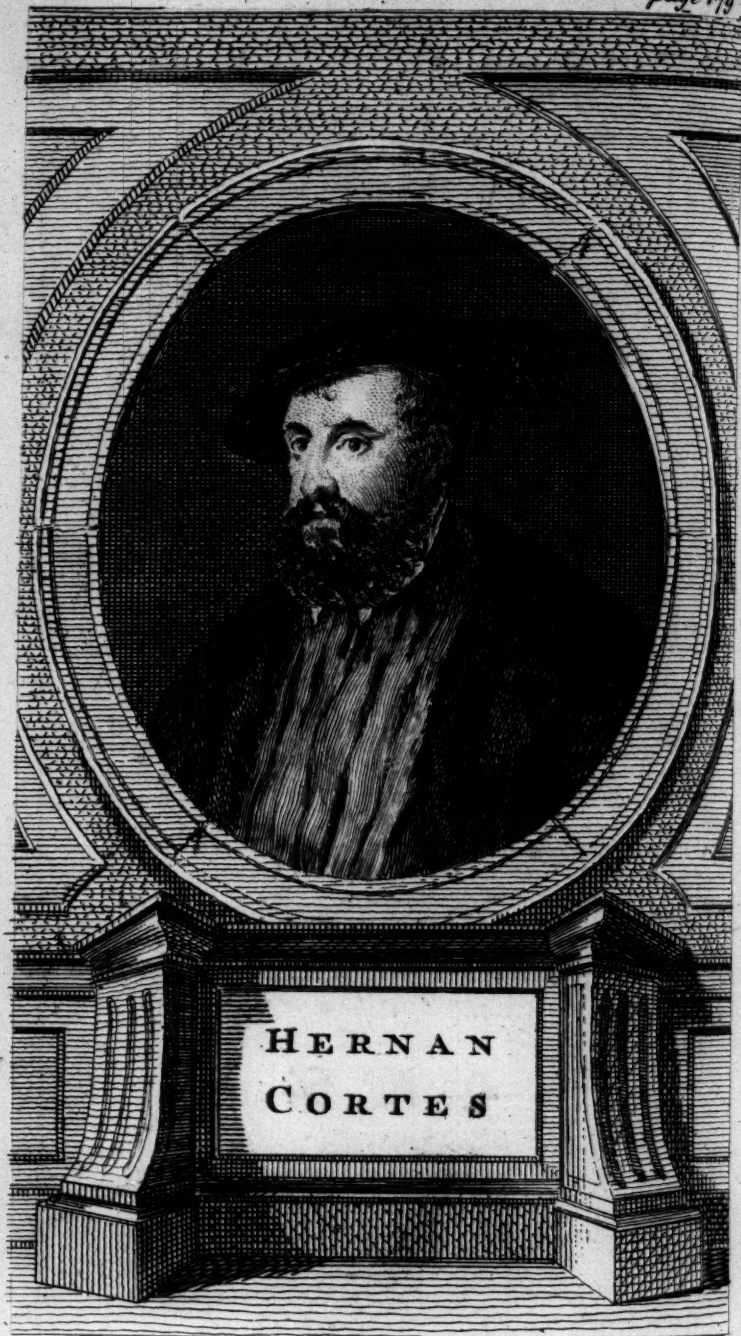
course towards Mozambique, where he repaired and victualled his fleet. Then he bestowed the command of another ship upon Tovar, whom he sent to examine the coast of Zofala, while he himself proceeded with the rest to Portugal; and, after having suffered much severe weather, arrived at Lisbon on the 31st day of July, in the year 1501.

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The Conquest of Mexico, by HER-  
NANDO CORTES.

## CHAP. I.

Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, equips a fleet which sails upon discoveries, under the command of Juan de Grijalva. He discovers the island of Cozumel; makes the land of Yucatan; enters the river Tobasco; trades with the Indians; proceeds to the river of Canoes, where he is attacked by the natives, who are defeated, and returns to Cuba.

THE conquest of Mexico is a transaction of such importance, and abounds with such entertaining incidents, that it would be altogether superfluous to usher it in with any recommendation to the reader.

Several authors have writ an account of this expedition; but, as the learned Antonio de Solis has taken great pains to collate and compare the different details, and consult original papers, which enabled him to solve and remove divers doubts and difficulties, and account for some contradictions that occur in the various histories of this memorable event, we have determined to follow him, not only as the most authentic historian, but likewise as the most elegant writer on the subject.

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In the year 1517, which was that in which Charles V. took possession of Spain, the conquests and settlements in the West Indies, belonging to that kingdom, were limited to the islands of Hispaniola, St. Juan de Puerto-rico, Cuba, and Jamaica, with a small part of the Terra-firma in the province of Darien, at the entrance of the gulph of Uraka. The island of Cuba was at that time governed by Diego Velasquez, who going thither as lieutenant to Don Diego Colon, second admiral of the Indies, had conquered the natives, and made very considerable settlements. The province of Yucatan upon the continent, had been discovered by Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, who, with the greatest part of his followers, was killed by the Indians of that country: nevertheless, those who returned to Cuba magnified the fertility and wealth of this new continent, and, by shewing some toys of gold which they had brought from thence, raised such a spirit of curiosity and hope, as diffused itself through all ranks of people, and even inspired the governor with the ambition of increasing his fortune, and rendering himself independent of Colon, whose superiority, though almost entirely nominal, he could not bear without repining.

With these sentiments, he resolved to renew the attempt of a discovery; soldiers were enlisted, and three vessels fitted out, under the command of his own relation Juan de Grijalva, assisted by the advice and service of Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montexo and Alonzo Davila, men distinguished for their valour, humanity and discretion. On the 8th day of April, 1518, they set sail from Cuba, discovered the island of Cozumel, where they refreshed themselves without meeting with opposition from the natives, in a few days made the land of Yucatan, and, doubling the point of Cotoche,  
coasted



## THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO. 181

coasted along westerly, until they arrived at Potonchan or Champoton, where Francisco Fernandez was routed and killed. Here they landed to revenge his death, and having vanquished the Indians, returned on board in order to prosecute their discovery. Sailing still westerly along shore, they descried several towns, consisting of stone buildings, and one of the soldiers observing that the country resembled Spain, the hearers relished the comparison so well, that from thence forward this continent adopted the name of New Spain.

In following this course, they arrived at the place where the river Tobasco discharges itself by two mouths into the gulph of Mexico, and Juan de Grijalva, who gave his name to the river, finding the stream was shallow, embarked all his soldiers on board of the two smallest vessels, in order to sail up, leaving the other two at anchor in the entrance. Having with some difficulty stemmed the current, and sailed for some time between a number of pleasant villages, they perceived at a little distance, a fleet of canoes, full of armed Indians, and a large body on shore, who by outcries and gesticulations that betrayed their own fear, endeavoured to intimidate and prevent the Spaniards from landing. Grijalva seeing them struck with astonishment and terror at the appearance of his vessels and men, took this opportunity to leap on shore, where having drawn up his people, and erected the royal standard as an act of possession, he sent two Indian boys, who had been taken in the first expedition to Yucatan, with a message to the natives, importing that he came in peace, without any intention to give offence. In consequence of this declaration, they approached in four canoes, and the compliments of salutation being passed, Grijalva, by the help of his interpreters, gave them to understand that he and his soldiers were servants

to a powerful monarch, who possessed an empire where the sun rises; and in whose name he was come to offer them peace and great advantages, provided they would become his subjects. This proposal was not at all agreeable to the Indians, one of whom replied, that it could not be a good peace, the condition of which was subjection; but, with regard to peace or war they would consult their superiors, and speedily return with a definitive answer. Accordingly they soon came back with signals of peace, and were followed by the cacique or chief, who, after having made his submission with great gravity, presented Grijalva with a plentiful banquet of fruit and provision, and afterwards with plumes of various colours, robes of fine cotton, and figures of animals made of thin plates of gold: in return for this liberality, Grijalva gratified him and his attendants with some Castilian trifles, that were very acceptable; then re-embarking, he returned to sea, and, continuing the same course as far as another river, called it the river of Flags, because, upon the neighbouring shore, they saw a great number of Indians waving white flags in token of peace, and by other signals and cries inviting the Christians to land. In compliance with their desire, the Spaniards went on shore, and were received with great hospitality by three principal men, who had provided a banquet for their guests, after which they ordered their people to produce some pieces of gold, which they wanted to exchange for European commodities. A market was immediately opened, with beads, combs, knives and other instruments of iron, for which Grijalva, in the space of six days, received to the amount of fifteen thousand \* pesos of gold. These three chiefs gave the Spaniards to understand they were servants to Motezuma, whose empire extend-

\* Peso was equal to ninety grains.

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ed over many countries, abounding with gold and other riches; and that they came by his order to examine into the intention of the Christians.

Grijalva parted with them in an amicable manner, and coasting along, landed in a small island, which he called the island of Sacrifices, because going to view an house built of stone that overlooked the rest, he found several idols of an horrible figure, and near them the mangled bodies of six or seven men newly sacrificed. From thence they passed to another isle, which was called St. Juan de Ulua, because they made it on the Baptist's day, and heard an Indian pronounce several times the word *Culua* with great vociferation. Here they staid several days, exchanging toys for plates of gold with the natives, who came from the neighbouring parts; and from thence Pedro de Alvarado was dispatched to Cuba, in one of the ships, with all the gold, and an account of the discoveries which had been made, as well as with an earnest request that Velasquez would send a re-inforcement of men and necessary stores, to enable Grijalva to make a settlement. Immediately after Alvarado's departure, the other three vessels left St. Juan de Ulua, and, still following the direction of the coast as far as Panuco, came to anchor in the river of Canoes, so named because they were attacked in this place by sixteen canoes filled with armed Indians, who, after having cut the cable of one ship, were charged, defeated, and put to flight by the Spaniards. From hence they sailed along till they arrived at a point of land running far out into the sea; and, as they found great difficulty in doubling this cape, the pilots protested against proceeding farther, and were seconded by the men, grown weary of such a tedious navigation.

Grijalva having called a council of his officers to deliberate upon the posture of their affairs, it was



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agreed, as one of the ships had sustained damage, as the provision began to spoil, the people were dissatisfied, and the instructions of governor Velasquez forbad them to make any settlement, that they should proceed no farther, but return to Cuba, where they might be furnished with necessaries for another expedition. In consequence of this determination, he altered his course, and, on the 15th of November 1518, arrived in the harbour of St. Jago, where he was very ungratefully received by Velasquez, who bitterly reproached him for having omitted to make a settlement, though he produced his own order, by which he was restricted in that particular.

### C H A P. II.

*The character of Cortes ; he receives a commission from Velasquez ; fits out a fleet ; sails to the Havannah ; is persecuted by Velasquez.*

**T**HIS governor had been transported with joy at sight of the gold brought by Alvarado, who arrived but a few days before Grijalva ; and, to such a degree of eagerness and impatience was he inflamed by their success, that, even in this short space, he had sent a person to the court of Spain, with an account of the discovery, and a detail of his own services ; in consideration of which, he solicited the title of king's lieutenant of the countries he should conquer : and he had actually begun to fit out a new fleet for another expedition, the conduct of which he resolved to entrust to a man of distinguished activity and resolution. The voice of the people was in favour of Grijalva, who had already given proofs of his honour and ability ; and his competitors were Antonio and Bernardino Velasquez, near relations of the governor, and several other

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other gentlemen of good character and great influence in the island: but the governor continued irresolute, dreading the ambition of those whose capacity he approved, until Amador de Lariz, the king's treasurer, and Andres de Duero, his own secretary, in whom he entirely confided, proposed their friend Hernan Cortes as a person every way qualified for such a command. This celebrated conqueror was a native of Medellen, a town of Estremadura, descended from a good family, and educated for a military life. His parents intended to have sent him to Italy to serve under that great captain Gonsalvo de Cordoua, but just when he was ready to embark, he was taken ill of a dangerous distemper, by which that opportunity was lost: he afterwards resolved to push his fortune in the West-Indies, and sailed thither in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando, who was his kinsman, and at that time governor of St. Domingo. Notwithstanding the favourable reception he met with from that gentleman, he soon grew tired of inaction, for, by this time, the island of Hispaniola was wholly reduced, and understanding the war was still carried on in Cuba, he obtained leave to go thither, and signalized himself in such a manner, as to acquire the reputation of a valiant soldier and an able officer. Nor was he less remarkable for other agreeable endowments; his person and address were prepossessing, his disposition was amiable, his conversation entertaining, and his generosity unbounded. By dint of these accomplishments, he won the heart of a noble young lady called Donna Cathalina Suarez Pacheco, who was solicited in marriage by the governor Diego Velasquez; and his success exasperated that gentleman to such a degree, that he caused him to be apprehended and kept in confinement, until the affair was adjusted, and then Velasquez

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lasquez stood father to the bride. He afterwards lived in a degree of intimacy with Cortes, on whom he conferred the post of alcalde, or chief magistrate in the town of St. Jago, an employment usually conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in the conquest of those countries.

In this situation was Hernan Cortes, when his friends recommended him to Velasquez, as a proper person to conduct the purposed enterprize; and the governor approving of their choice, a commission was immediately signed, appointing him captain general of the fleet, and of the countries he should discover and subdue.

This nomination was no sooner known than resented by all the competitors, especially by the relations of Velasquez, who did not scruple to censure his conduct openly, in reposing such important trust in a man whom he had once so flagrantly obliged; in a man who concealed the most vindictive disposition under the mask of courtesy and mildness, and who employed the most insinuating artifices to acquire a popularity which could not fail of being very dangerous to those who had incurred his displeasure. It is even reported, that the governor was one day accosted by a waggish lunatick, who said, "Thou hast done well, friend Diego; in a little time there will be occasion for another fleet to go in pursuit of Cortes." In all probability, this sarcasm was dictated by some of those who envied the fortune of the new general. These remonstrances had at first no effect upon Velasquez, who adhered to his resolution, while Hernan began to make preparations for his departure. He employed his own fortune, and all he could borrow, in the purchase of provisions, arms and ammunition, and enlisted soldiers with such expedition and success, that, in a few days, above three hundred were engaged by the same of  
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the enterprize, and the character of the captain; and among these was Diego de Ordaz, a creature and confidant of Velasquez. These, together with the sailors, and all other necessaries, being embarked in ten vessels from eighty to one hundred tons, they sailed from the port of St. Jago de Cuba, on the 18th day of November in the year 1518, and, coasting along the north side of the island towards the east, arrived in a few days at the port of La Trinidad, where Cortes, publishing his design, was joined by Juan de Escalante, Pedro Sanchez Farfan, Gonzalo Mexia, and other considerable persons of that settlement, and afterwards by Pedro de Alvarado with four of his brothers, and Alonzo Davila: from the town of Sancti Spiritus, which stands at a little distance from La Trinidad, he was reinforced by Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Roderigo Rangel, Juan Velasquez de Leon, who was the governor's relation, and other persons of distinction, who resolved to follow the fortune of Cortes. But he was no sooner departed from St. Jago, than his enemies renewed their batteries against him, and at length, by the assistance of a pretended astrologer, found means to arouse the jealousy of Velasquez, who immediately dispatched couriers to La Trinidad, with orders to his cousin Francisco Verdugo, alcalde of the place, to dispossess Cortes of his command in a judicial way, his commission being revoked. Hernan being informed of his design, consulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great vehemence, that they would stand by him to the last extremity; and now, assured of their fidelity, he went to visit the alcalde, to whom he complained of the governor's injurious behaviour, assuring him that his followers were so much incensed at the affront, that it was with great difficulty he could restrain them from acts of violence. He represented

mented the weakness and injustice of Don Diego's proceedings, which argued a mean jealousy of a man whose friendship he had no reason to doubt; and used such arguments to prove what prejudice not only he and all his followers, but also his majesty's interest would suffer from the execution of the governor's order, that the alcalde was convinced, and far from taking any step to delay the expedition, wrote to Velasquez, exhorting him to desist from his purpose, and his advice was backed by letters from Diego de Ordaz, and others, who enjoyed some degree of his favour; and Cortes himself took the same opportunity of vindicating his own character, gently reproaching him with having listened to the suggestions of his private enemies.

Mean while, he resolved to prosecute his voyage, and having sent Pedro de Alvarado by land, with a party of soldiers to take care of the horses, and raise recruits in the settlements through which he should pass; he sailed with the fleet for the Havanna, and that same night the rest of the ships separated from the Capitana, in which he himself had embarked; but, as the pilots did not perceive their error till day-light, they were obliged to continue their course to the Havanna, where they were kindly received by Pedro de Barba, the governor under Velasquez. Here they staid several days without hearing any news of Cortes, so that they concluded he was lost, and began to deliberate about chusing another conductor, when the election was happily prevented by the safe arrival of their original captain, whose ship having struck upon some flats near the isle of Pines, received such damage, and stuck so fast, that he had been obliged to unload her upon a little sandy island in the neighbourhood before she could be got off; and seven days elapsed before she could be refitted and reloaded.

When

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When he arrived at the Havanna, he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great courtesy and respect by the governor; and here he was joined by Francisco de Montejo, afterwards king's lieutenant of Yucatan, and many other persons of note, who added to the reputation of the enterprize. During the few days he was obliged to stay in this place in order to finish the equipment, he cleaned and proved his artillery, ordered a number of cotton quilts to be made as coats of mail, to defend his people from the Indian arrows, exercised his soldiers in the use of their fire-arms and cross-bows, as well as in the management of their pikes, and taught them to form a battalion, file off, attack and retreat, according to the most approved practice in war. In the midst of these preparations, one Gaspar de Garnica arrived with dispatches to Pedro de Barba, containing express orders to divest Cortes of his command, and send him prisoner to St. Jago with a good convoy; and at the same time, he sent letters to Diego de Ordaz, and Juan Velasquez de Leon, commanding them to assist the governor in the execution of his orders.

Cortes, shocked and incensed at this fresh instance of the folly and insolence of Velasquez, which so evidently tended to the miscarriage of an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes, resolved to provide for himself, and make use of the force he was master of, as his occasions should require. In the mean time, before Pedro de Barba had determined to publish the order, he commanded Diego de Ordaz, whose fidelity he suspected from the efforts he had made to be chosen chief in his absence, to embark immediately on board of one of the vessels, and make the best of his way to Guanicanico, a settlement on the other side of Cape St. Antonio, to take in provisions and



and wait for him and the rest of the fleet: then he visited Juan de Velasquez, whom he soon brought over to his interest. Having taken these precautions, his next step was to explain his situation to the soldiers, who expressed the utmost indignation against his enemies, and raised such a tumult as could not be appeased, until Pedro de Barba, who dreaded the consequence of their fury, appearing with Cortes, publicly declared that he had no intention to execute the order of Velasquez, which he looked upon as a flagrant piece of injustice. At the same time, he sent back Garnica with letters to that governor, representing, in the strongest terms, the ferment his order had produced, to the manifest danger of the town, and advising him to regain Cortes by acts of friendship.

This commotion being quieted, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, one of which was put on board of each vessel; and he named for captains, Juan Velasquez de Leon, Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, Francisco de Montejo, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Saucedo, and Diego de Ordaz, whom he was not willing to disoblige; reserving to himself the command of the Capitana, and entrusting Gines de Nortes with the care of the brigantine. The command of the artillery he bestowed upon Francisco de Orozco, who had signalized himself in the wars of Italy; and his chief pilot was Antonio de Alaminos, who had acted in the same capacity in the voyages of Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua, and Juan de Grijalva. He then delivered instructions to his officers, and, the day of embarkation being arrived, after a solemn mass, in which all the soldiers assisted, he gave the word *St. Peter*, whom he acknowledged as patron of his expedition. Pedro de Alvarado was sent to  
Guanicanico

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Guanicanico in quest of Ordaz, with whom he had orders to go and wait for the fleet at Cape St. Antonio: and the rest of the vessels were directed to follow the Capitana, and in case of separation, to rendezvous at the Isle of Cozumel, where Cortes proposed to concert the plan of operations.

### C H A P. III.

*He takes his departure from Cuba; lands upon the island of Cozumel; enters into a treaty of friendship with the cacique; demolishes the Indian idols; redeems a captive Spaniard called Jerom de Aguilar.*

THESE steps being taken, they departed from the Havanna on the 10th day of February, 1519, with a favourable gale; but, at sun set, a furious storm arising put the whole fleet in disorder. Pedro de Alvarado, who had sailed in quest of Diego de Ordaz, perceived at day break the tempest had driven him so far into the gulph, that it would be very difficult to weather cape St. Antonio; and therefore, with the consent of his pilot, steered away for Cozumel, where they found a small town near the coast, abandoned by the Indians, who had fled farther into the country at their approach. Alvarado, who was a young man of a very enterprizing spirit, though unguided by experience and discretion, thought nothing misbecame a soldier so much as inaction, and, with that sentiment, ordered his men to march farther into the island, in order to reconnoitre. At the distance of a league, they found another town abandoned as the first, and here the soldiers made prize of some provisions, together with the plunder of an idol-temple, consisting of ornamental jewels, and instruments for sacrifice, made of gold mixed with copper,

copper, though of small value. This expedition, far from promoting the service, rendered it impracticable to gain the friendship and assistance of the Indians, and Alvarado was afterwards sensible of his misconduct.

Next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having sent another vessel with directions to Ordaz, on the supposition that Alvarado was prevented by the storm, and though he was very well pleased to find that young captain in safety at Cozumel, he reprimanded him in public for his rash behaviour, and dismissed three Indian prisoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be restored, and given them some presents for their caciques, in token of amity and peace.

The Spaniards continued three days encamped on the sea side, during which the men were mustered, and found to amount to five hundred and eight soldiers, one hundred and nine marines and mechanics, besides two chaplains, who were the licentiate Juan Diaz, and Father Bartholome de Olmedo; and this army was strengthened by sixteen horse. The people being assembled on this occasion, Cortes took the opportunity of making a public speech, in which, after having inflamed their courage and cupidity with the promise of honour and wealth, he explained the dangers they must lay their account with encountering, and represented, in the strongest terms, the necessity of acting with unanimity and undaunted resolution.

This harangue was interrupted by the appearance of some Indians, and tho' they were unarmed and in small detached parties, he drew up his men in order, without beat of drum, and directed them to stand covered behind their lines, prepared for whatever should happen. The Indians perceiving no signs of hostility among the Spaniards, approached by little and little, and the boldest of them  
entering



entering the camp, were so favourably received, that they called to their countrymen, who followed their example, and mingled among the soldiers with great confidence and familiarity, which argued that they were accustomed to converse with strangers. Indeed there was an idol in this island, very much revered by the barbarians, who resorted to it in great crowds, from all the different provinces of the continent; so that the natives of Cozumel were used to the sight of nations who differed from one another in custom, language and dress. Next day, the principal cacique of the island visited Cortes, who received him very graciously; and while the conversation was carried on by the medium of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to pronounce the word *Castilla*, the meaning of which when Cortes demanded, he was given to understand that the savage said, the Spaniards resembled certain prisoners in Yucatan, who were natives of a country called *Castilla*. Hernan immediately concluded that those prisoners were his countrymen, whom he forthwith resolved to release; and, consulting his guest on this subject, the cacique very candidly told him, they were in the power of some Indians of the highest rank, residing in the heart of Yucatan, and that the most certain and expeditious method of procuring their liberty, would be to offer a ransom; for, should he have recourse to arms, they would run the risque of being murdered by their masters. In compliance with this advice, he ordered Diego de Ordaz to sail to the coast of Yucatan, according to the direction of the cacique, with a letter to the prisoners, and some trifles for the ransom, and to stay eight days, within which space the Indians, appointed by the cacique for that purpose, undertook to return with an answer; mean while Cortes marched with his men in a body round the island,

in order to view the country, keep his men in action, which might prevent irregularities, and display his strength and discipline to the pilgrims, who would not fail to magnify both, in the respective nations to which they belonged. In this circuit he was always accompanied by the cacique and a great number of Indians, who supplied him with provisions, and exchanged gold for glass beads, which they believed they could never purchase too dear.

At a little distance from the coast, stood the temple of the idol, so much revered by the savages: it was a square stone building of no contemptible architecture, and the idol, called Cozumel, appeared in the figure of a man of a most horrible aspect. Here was a very great concourse of people, listening to a priest distinguished by a certain garb, who seemed to preach with great gravity and emphasis of speech and gesticulation. Cortes, shocked at the absurdity of such worship, told the cacique, that, in order to maintain the friendship subsisting between them, it would be absolutely necessary for him to renounce such a diabolical religion, and influence his subjects to follow his example. This declaration he enforced by such arguments in favour of the Christian religion, that the chief was confounded and dismayed, and begged leave to communicate the affair to his priests, with whom he left the absolute authority in deciding in matters of religion. These being immediately brought before Cortes, and informed of the affair in agitation, began with hideous outcries to protest against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the worship of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of heaven upon such impious innovators. Cortes, without paying the least regard to their menaces, immediately ordered his soldiers to demolish the altar, and break all their idols in pieces: a scene that filled the barbarians with astonishment and affright;

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affright; which, however, were succeeded by contempt for their own deities, when they beheld the Christians use them in this manner with impunity. The other temples underwent the same fate, except the chief place of worship, which being cleansed from all impurities, was converted into a Christian chapel; and, next day, mass was said at a new altar, in presence of the cacique and his people, who assisted at the ceremony with great reverence and marks of devotion.

At the end of eight days, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without the prisoners or the Indians, who had not returned according to their promise: so that Cortes was highly displeased at the cacique, who, he supposed, had deceived him by false intelligence, in order to appropriate to himself the presents intended for the ransom. Nevertheless, he would not manifest his resentment or suspicion, but, taking his leave of him with great civility and expressions of satisfaction, he put to sea, intending to pursue the course which had been followed by Grijalva. Although they set sail with a fair wind, they were obliged that same day to return to the island, in consequence of an accident that happened to the ship commanded by Juan de Escalante, which sprung a leak, and had almost foundered before she reached the shore. This delay, which at first seemed a misfortune, turned out a most lucky incident, which greatly contributed to the conquest of New Spain; for, after having spent four days in repairing the damage, just as they were re-embarking, they discovered a canoe crossing the gulph of Yucatan, and standing directly for the island. Cortes, perceiving she was full of armed Indians, ordered Andrew de Tapia to lie in ambuscade near the place to which they rowed, and as soon as they landed, he rushed between them and the canoe, so as to cut off their retreat. The



savages immediately betook themselves to flight, but one among them, advancing a few paces towards the Spaniards, pronounced with a loud voice in the Castilian tongue, "I am a Christian." Tapia received him with equal joy and surprize, and conducted him to the general, attended by the Indians, who were no other than the messengers left by Diego de Ordaz on the coast of Yucatan. He had no covering but just enough to hide his nakedness, and on one shoulder he bore his bow and quiver. Cortes caressed him extremely, and having given orders to clothe and regale him, desired to know who he was, and by what accidents he was reduced to such a wretched equipage. He said he was called Jerom de Aguilar, a native of Ecija, where he had received deacon's orders: he had been, eight years before this deliverance, shipwrecked upon the flats of the Alacranes, in his passage from Darien to Hispaniola, and with twenty other persons taking to the boat, had reached the shore of Yucatan, where they were taken and carried to a country of Caribbee Indians, whose cacique immediately culled out the fattest of them as sacrifices to their idols. As for Aguilar, he was so lean and meagre, that they reserved him for a future banquet, and, that he might be in better case, gorged him with food in a wooden cage, from which he made shift to escape. Having wandered several days in the fields, without any other support than that which the herbs and trees afforded, he fell into the hands of certain Indians, by whom he was presented to their cacique, who was at war with him from whom he had made his escape. This master, who was less barbarous than the former, he served for some years, during which he acquired such a degree of his favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his person; and honoured him with his confidence. The cacique, upon his death-

bed,

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bed, recommended him to his son, under whom he possessed the same office; and, in a war with the neighbouring caciques, signalized his valour and conduct in such a manner, that he became a great favourite both of prince and people; so that, when he received the letter from Cortes, he obtained his liberty as the recompence of his services, and offered, as his own gift, the presents that were sent for his ransom.

### CHAP. IV.

*He sails from Cozumel; enters the river Grijalva; defeats the Indians; takes the town of Tabasco; obtains a great victory.*

THE Spaniards, having refitted their ship and gained this valuable acquisition, departed from the island for the second time, on the 4th of March 1519, and doubling the point of Catoche, which is the most easterly part of Yucatan, arrived in the road of Champatan, where Cortes discovered an inclination to land, and chastise the natives for the opposition they had made to Hernandez de Cordoua and Grijalva; but being overruled by the suggestions of the pilots, who represented that the wind favoured the prosecution of their voyage, and was directly contrary to their landing in this place, he pursued his course until he reached the river of Grijalva, where there was no room for deliberation; for, the good treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabasco, and the gold brought from thence, were motives not to be resisted. He therefore made a disposition for entering the river, leaving his larger vessels at anchor without, and embarking his soldiers on board of the smaller and the boats; and, in the order formerly observed by

Grijalva, began to stem the current, when he perceived both sides of the river covered with canoes full of armed Indians, supported by several bodies on shore. Guessing, from their outcries and gesticulations, that their intent was hostile, he sent Aguilar as interpreter, in a canoe, with offers of peace, which being rejected with insolence, he resolved to chastise them for their presumption, although his revenge would delay his grand project of penetrating at once into the territories of Motezuma.

Night being at hand, he thought proper to lie by till day, and in the mean time ordered his soldiers to put on their quilted coats, to transport the artillery into the small vessels, and make all the necessary preparations for an engagement. Day no sooner appeared, than his vessels, being ranged in the figure of an half moon, advanced slowly towards the Indians, who waited their approach in the same order; and Cortes, still loth to shed the blood of those ignorant savages, sent Aguilar a second time with proposals of amity and peace, to which they made no answer, but, giving the signal for the attack, rowed down with great expedition by favour of the current, until they were near enough to use their arrows, of which they discharged such a number both from the canoes and banks of the river, that the Spaniards were very much embarrassed in their endeavours to cover themselves. Nevertheless, having sustained the charge, they returned it with such interest, that the canoes quickly left the passage free, and many Indians, intimidated by the death of their companions, flung themselves into the river. The Spanish Vessels approached the shore, in a marshy place covered with brambles, where the Indians lay in ambush, and renewed the attack with great fury; notwithstanding which, Cortes made his point good, and having formed his battalion in sight of the enemy, whose numbers continually



continually increased, he ordered Alonzo Davila to advance with an hundred soldiers through the wood, and take possession of the town of Tabasco, which, according to the information of those who had been in the former expeditions, was not far from the place of action. This officer being detached, Cortes at the head of his troops attacked that vast multitude, and though he was obliged to fight up to the knees in mud, where he lost one of his own shoes, he put the savages to flight, and they instantly disappeared, though with intention to defend their town, as by this time they had discovered the march of Davila. But, before he got up, Cortes reached Tabasco, which was fortified with large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like palisadoes, with interstices for the convenience of shooting arrows: and at the extremity of the circle, ~~one line covered the other, forming a narrow~~ winding lane, in which were two or three block-houses of wood that filled up the passage. Cortes, being joined by Davila, whose march had been retarded by marshes and lakes, distributed among the men proper instruments for breaking down the palisadoes, and, drawing his sword, led them on to the attack. Having received a shower of arrows on their shields, they advanced to the fortification, and, discharging their fire-arms and cross-bows through the interstices, quickly drove the enemy backwards, so as to be at liberty to demolish the palisadoes. Then entering without difficulty, they found the Indians formed behind barricadoes in the streets; but they were so embarrassed by their own numbers, that their resistance had little or no effect. They made their last effort in an open space about the center of the town, from whence, however, they were soon repulsed, and fled to the woods in great disorder; and Cortes would not follow the pursuit; that his men might

have time to refresh themselves, and the fugitives an opportunity to sue for peace. In this manner did the Spaniards make themselves masters of Tabasco, which was well stored with provisions, tho' the Indians had removed their families and effects; and the conquest did not cost the life of one Christian, yet fourteen or fifteen were wounded: whereas the Indians lost a considerable number. The troops were lodged that night in three temples, and though next day the country appeared quite deserted, and not the least sign of an enemy appeared, every place being silent and solitary, Hernan began to be suspicious of this stillness; and his apprehensions were confirmed, when he understood that Melchior his interpreter, who came from Cuba, had deserted to the barbarians, and doubtless discovered the small number of the Spaniards. In ~~the interim~~, he detached, by different route, Pedro de Alvarado, and Francisco de Lugo, each having an hundred men, to view the country, with orders to retire if they should find any army in the field. Francisco de Lugo, after an hour's march, fell into an ambuscade, and was attacked on all sides with such fury, that he was obliged to form his small body into an hollow square, and must certainly have been overpowered by the numbers of the enemy, had not Alvarado heard the report of the fire-arms and hastened to his assistance, after having detached an Indian of Cuba to apprize Cortes of his situation. Perceiving, as he advanced, the distress of de Lugo, whose men were by this time quite fatigued, he fell upon the enemy with such resolution, that they fled in the utmost consternation at this unexpected attack. Yet, when they recovered of their surprize, they formed again, in order to obstruct the retreat of the two captains, who being joined, and a little refreshed with rest, were obliged to cut their way through a vast multitude

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tude of barbarians, that rolled forwards and backwards like the waves of the sea, until Cortes appeared at a distance marching to the relief of his men; then the Indians dispersed, leaving the field free to the Spaniards, eleven of whom were wounded, and of these two died; and this, at that time, was accounted a very considerable loss.

Some prisoners that were taken, being examined separately by Jerom de Aguilar, agreed in affirming that all the caciques of the neighbouring countries were summoned to the assistance of the inhabitants of Tabasco, and that next day a very powerful army would take the field, to destroy the Spaniards at once. In consequence of this intelligence, Cortes, calling a council of his captains, communicated what he had learned, and desired their advice, after he had represented the weakness and ignorance of the enemy, and the ill consequence of turning their backs upon the barbarians, who would not fail to report such a disgraceful step, and inspire a contempt of them in that country to which they were going. All the officers agreeing that it was absolutely necessary to stay and subdue these people, Cortes ordered the wounded men to be carried on board, the horses to be landed, the artillery to be in readiness, and every thing in order by next morning, which was the feast of the Annunciation. At day-break the men heard mass, then giving the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, he himself and the other commanders mounted on horseback, and marched with the artillery, which moved but slowly, because the ground was boggy and uneven, until arriving at a place called Cinthla, about the distance of a league from their quarters, they descried afar off the Indian army, so numerous and extensive, that the eye could not take it in. As the art of war is almost the same in all the nations of New Spain, we shall now describe the Indian manner of



marching and engaging, by which the reader will have an idea of their appearance through the whole of this conquest.

Their chief weapons are bows and arrows, the bow-strings being made of sinews of beasts, or thongs of deer skin twisted, and their arrows, for want of iron, headed with bones; they use likewise a kind of javelin, which sometimes they throw, and sometimes manage as a pike, together with long two-handed swords of wood edged with flints: some of the strongest wield clubs pointed in the same manner, and many sling stones with great force and dexterity. Their defensive arms, which are worn by none but commanders and persons of distinction, consist of quilted cotton coats, ill-fitted breast-plates and shields of wood or tortoise-shell, adorned with plates of metal. The generality of them are naked, their faces and bodies being painted in various colours, in order to strike terror into their enemies; and their heads adorned with plumes of feathers, raised up in the form of crowns, to make them appear taller than they really are. Their warlike instruments are pipes of large cane, conch-shells, and drums made of the trunk of a tree hollowed, which being beaten with a stick, yield a very disagreeable sound. Their battalions are formed without any order, they have a body of reserve to answer all emergencies, and they attack with great fury and precipitation, making hideous outcries to terrify their adversaries. Not but that they are divided into companies, commanded by their respective officers, who cannot, however, govern them in an engagement, during which they obey nothing but the dictates of rage or horror; in consequence of which they are equally apt to charge and run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians that now poured upon the Spaniards, whom  
Cortes

Cortes posted under the shelter of a rising ground that covered the rear, and having placed the artillery to the greatest advantage, he advanced with his fifteen horse into the center of a wood, from whence he meant to sally, and flank the enemy as occasion should require.

The Indians, having marched up within a proper distance, shot their arrows, and then attacked with such ferocity and expedition, that the Spaniards, finding their fire-arms and cross-bows unable to stop their progress, had recourse to their swords, which soon smoked with slaughter; and as the enemy pressed on, the artillery destroyed them by whole companies: yet they continued obstinate or rather desperate in their assault, concealing the damage they suffered, by closing after the ball was past, and drowning the groans and lamentations of the wounded by dreadful outcries. Diego de Ordaz, repairing to every part where his presence was required, acquitted himself as a valiant soldier and judicious captain; but such was the number of the foe, that his men could hardly stand their ground, when Cortes suddenly rushing from the wood, broke through the thickest of their battalions, doing infinite execution with his horse, the very sight of which terrified the Indians, who, feeling themselves wounded and trodden under foot by such dreadful monsters, threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation. Diego de Ordaz being sensible of what was acting, from the weak resistance of their van, which now began to face about, advanced with his infantry, and charged this huge body with such resolution, that he soon forced his way to the place which Cortes and his captains had cleared of the enemy, who retreated in good order, making a running fight, until the Spaniards overtook them, and then they fled in the utmost confusion, leaving above eight hundred dead upon the spot. In ob-

taining this victory over forty thousand Indians; two Spaniards were killed, and seventy wounded: so that, in spite of envy, the action was truly worthy of the honour which was afterwards done it, by building a church in commemoration of it, dedicated to the Lady of Victory, a name likewise bestowed on the first town which the Spaniards built in that province.

## C H A P. V.

*He makes peace with the cacique; receives Donna Marina in a present; reembarks; coasts along to the westward; arrives at St. Juan de Ulua.*

NEXT day, Cortes ordered two or three Indian officers, who were prisoners, to be brought before him, and perceiving their terror by their countenances, received them courteously, and set them at liberty, after having presented them with some trifles. This piece of humanity had such an effect, that in a few hours several Indians came to the quarters, loaded with Indian wheat, fowls, and other provisions, as a present from the principal cacique of Tabasco, who by these ambassadors made proposals of peace; but Jerom de Aguilar observing that these were mean persons, and that the custom was to send people of the first rank upon such occasions, Cortes, tho' very desirous of peace, would not admit them to his presence, but sent them back to their cacique, with a message, importing, that if he desired his friendship, he must send persons of greater account to solicit. The Indian chief, being sensible of his error, sent next day thirty of his principal men, adorned with their plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another present to the Christian general. Cortes believing it was necessary, on this occasion, to  
lay



lay aside his natural affability, assumed a grave and severe aspect; and being attended by his officers, gave audience to those ambassadors, who having first perfumed him with great submission, made an apology for the war, and sued for peace with the most earnest entreaties. Having listened with an affected reserve, he explained the cause he had to be displeased at their conduct, and then condescending to grant their request, presented them with a few baubles, so that they returned extremely well satisfied with the issue of their negotiation. Cortes was afterwards visited by the cacique in person, attended by all his officers and relations, and followed by a present of cotton-cloths, plumes, and some pieces of low gold, of admirable workmanship. He was received with open arms, and peace being re-established, he, to show his confidence in Hernan, ordered his subjects to return with their families to Tabasco, and obey the Christians in every thing they should command. Next day he returned with a present of Indian women to serve the Christians, in dressing all sorts of victuals, and making bread of Indian wheat: among these was one of extraordinary beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Marina, and proved very serviceable in the conquest of Mexico, as we shall see in the sequel. It was now that Cortes told the cacique and his chiefs, that he was subject, and officer of a most powerful prince, to whom, if they would become subjects, he would make them happy, and convert them to the Christian religion, of which they were at present utterly ignorant. The Indians answered, that they should think themselves happy in obeying a monarch, whose greatness and power appeared so conspicuous in the valour of his subjects: but, in the article of religion, they were more reserved, and seemed much more inclined to worship a new deity, than to forsake any of their own gods.

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The pilots now pressed the departure of the fleet, which might be endangered by a longer stay in that place; and Palm-sunday being the day appointed for embarking, Cortes ordered an altar to be raised, and covered with boughs in form of a chapel, where he intended to celebrate that festival before he should go on board. Mean while the Indians assisted his men in all things with the most officious diligence, the cacique with his chaplains always attending the Spanish general; and, on Sunday morning, the boughs being blessed with the usual solemnity, were distributed among the soldiers, who marched in procession, with such marks of modesty and devotion, as very deeply affected the Indian spectators, who exclaimed in their own language, "This must be a great God, to whom such valiant men pay so much respect." Mass being sung, Cortes took leave of his Indian friends, after having confirmed the peace in the most solemn manner: and next day setting sail, coasted along to the westward, till he came in sight of the province of Guazacoalco, and had a view of the island of sacrifices. Without staying to put in at Rio de Banderas, he continued his course, and on Maunday Thursday, at noon, arrived at St. Juan de Ulua, where he no sooner came to an anchor between the island and the main, than he saw two large canoes, called piraguas, coming towards the ships, with Indians in them, from the neighbouring coast: when they were within a small distance of the admiral, they began to speak in a language which Aguilar did not understand, a circumstance that very much chagrined Cortes, who foresaw that the want of an interpreter would be a great obstacle to the success of his enterprize. The Indian woman, whom we shall henceforth call Donna Marina, guessing his concern by his looks, told Aguilar, in the Yucatan tongue, that those people spoke the Mexican language, and desired audience.

of

of the general, on the part of the governor of that province; and Cortes, overjoyed to find she understood their meaning, desired them to come on board and deliver their message. This woman, who, according to report, was daughter of a cacique, had been by some accident in life carried away in her youth, to a place upon the confines of Yucatan, kept by a Mexican garrison, where she learned the language of that people, and afterwards, either by sale or the fate of war, became slave to the cacique of Tabasco, who made a present of her to Cortes, and he confirmed her in his interest, by making her his concubine. She was a person of rare endowments, in a little time learned the Castilian tongue, and bore a son to the conqueror of Mexico, who was called Don Martin Cortes, and created a knight of St. Jago, in consideration of the nobility of his mother's birth. This lady, though not as yet acquainted with the language of Spain, interpreted to Aguilar, in the Yucatan tongue, what the Mexicans said, and he imparted it to Cortes in the Castilian. By means of this double interpretation, they gave him to understand, that Pilpatoe governor, and Teutile captain-general of that province for the emperor Motezuma, sent them to learn his intention upon the coast, and to offer what assistance he should want for the prosecution of his voyage. Cortes having presented them with a few baubles, and treated them with a Spanish collation, told them he came as a friend, and would meet the two governors, from whom he hoped to receive the same civility which had been experienced by some of his nation the preceding year.



## C H A P. VI.

*He lands and puts his men under cover ; gives audience to two Mexican officers ; sends a present to Motezuma ; receives a message from that prince.*

NEXT day, in the morning, being Good-Friday, the Spaniards being landed with their horses and artillery, Cortes ordered the soldiers to cut fascines and fortify their camp, within which was built a sufficient number of huts or barracks, to shelter them from the excessive heat of the sun ; and in a little time they were all under cover ; for Teutile sent to their assistance a great number of Indians, who were of great service in cutting stakes with their flinty tools, and afterwards in driving and interweaving them with boughs and leaves of palm-trees. They likewise brought plenty of provisions, and some cotton cloths to cover the barracks in which the officers lodged. This civility on the part of Teutile, who with a considerable body of troops was employed in establishing the dominion of Motezuma in some places newly conquered, was in a good measure owing to the terror created among the Indians by the success of the Spaniards at Tabasco, against such a vast army of their countrymen.

Cortes, notwithstanding his friendly intercourse with the natives, still kept himself upon his guard, and nothing extraordinary happened till Easter-day in the morning, when he was visited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very great retinue, and Hernán received them with equal state, surrounded by his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being past, he conducted them to a great barrack that served as a chapel, it being the hour of divine service, and mass was celebrated with all possible solemnity, to the astonishment of the Indians, which indeed had all the air of devotion. After the worship,

ship, they returned to the general's quarters, where they were entertained with great plenty and ostentation; and the repast being ended, Cortes, by his interpreters told them, that his errand was to treat with the emperor Motezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Austria, monarch of the east, touching affairs of great importance, not only to his own person and estate, but likewise to the welfare of his subjects; for which reason it was necessary that he (Cortes) should appear before his royal presence, to which he hoped he should be admitted, with all the civility and respect due to the greatness of the king whose minister he was.

His guests, hearing this declaration, changed countenance, and, before they returned an answer, ordered their Indians to bring in a present of provisions, fine cloths, feathers of various colours, and a great box containing divers pieces of gold curiously wrought: then, turning to Cortes, Teutile begged he would accept that small present from two slaves of Motezuma, who had orders to entertain such strangers as should come upon the coast: but he desired he would not think of prosecuting his design, for it would be no easy matter to speak with their prince; and he advised him as a friend to desist, before experience should make him sensible of the danger attending such an enterprize. Cortes replied, with some warmth, that ministers ought not to take upon themselves to advise in such cases, without express order; that their business was to inform Motezuma of his arrival, his embassy, and his determined resolution to see him: for he would never leave the country with dishonour to the king whom he represented.

The Indian chiefs, confounded at his boldness, earnestly entreated him to continue in his quarters, until the return of a messenger from Motezuma, and in the mean time they would supply him with  
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all things necessary for the support of his soldiers. During this conference, some Mexican painters were employed in drawing upon cotton cloths, which they had brought ready primed for the purpose, the ships, soldiers, arms, horses and artillery, by way of information to Motezuma: for they knew not the use of letters; and this was the only method they had of transmitting ideas without the help of speech. To render their descriptions more intelligible, they placed here and there certain characters that seemed to explain the picture, which was not at all contemptible, either for colouring or design: and in this manner they preserved the remembrance of antiquities, and handed down to posterity the annals of their kings.

Cortes perceiving their work, and being informed of their intention, observed that those still images wanted action, to express the valour of his soldiers, and therefore ordered his men to be exercised, and the artillery loaded, while he and his captains, mounting their horses, began to skirmish in a martial manner, to the amazement of the Indians, who seeing such fierce animals so obedient to their riders, thought there was something supernatural in those who could manage them with so much ease and dexterity; but when, in consequence of a signal, first the small arms were fired, and then the artillery discharged, they were so confounded and dismayed at the noise, the fire and the smoke, that some fell down upon the ground, others fled in the utmost fear, and those who stayed were fixed to the spot with terror and admiration. Cortes immediately dissipated their apprehensions, by assuring them that these were only diversions from which they would receive no injury; upon which the painters began to represent the Spaniards drawn up, the horses in the attitudes of their exercise, and the artillery spewing forth fire and smoke: while Hernan reconduct-  
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ed the two governors to his barrack, where he gave them some small Spanish jewels, and prepared a present for Motezuma, consisting of several polished mirrors, an holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet, adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair, which the Indians looked upon as a fit present for an emperor.

Teutile and Pilpatoe, seemingly well pleased with this instance of the Spaniards magnificence, took their leave; and, retiring to a small distance, held a consultation, in which it was agreed, that Pilpatoe should remain in that place to observe the actions of the strangers, and immediately his men began to build barracks, so that in a few hours a considerable village appeared upon the plain; and that this step might not give umbrage, he sent to inform Cortes, that his reason for staying there was, that he might be at hand to take care of his entertainment, and supply his troops with provisions. Though Hernan guessed their real intention, he connived at their dissimulation, from which he drew such advantages; for, the fear of being detected rendered them more punctual in furnishing him with all necessaries. As for Teutile, he proceeded to his own quarters, from whence he dispatched messengers to Motezuma, with an account of what had happened, the pictures that were drawn by his order, and the present of Cortes, desiring further orders with all expedition. The king of Mexico was provided with a great number of couriers, distributed along the principal roads, chosen from the swiftest of the Indians, who were bred up to that occupation from their childhood. Rewards were allotted out of the public treasury to those who first arrived at the appointed place; their chief school was the principal temple of Mexico, where the idol stood, on the top of an hundred and twenty stone steps, and the reward was adjudged to him who first arrived at its feet.

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These couriers were relieved at every town, like our post-horses, and made the greater speed, because each was succeeded by another before he was tired, so that the velocity of their career never flagged. Of this there can be no better demonstration than the return of the answer from Mexico, which arrived in seven days, tho' the distance by the shortest road, from that city to Juan de Ulua, amounts to sixty leagues. Motezuma's message was brought by Teutile, to the Spanish quarters, together with a present from that prince, which loaded the shoulders of an hundred Indians, consisting of very fine cotton robes, a quantity of plumes and curiosities made of feathers, so artificially disposed as to represent natural figures with the most beautiful imitation, a great number of bows, arrows, and targets, a large plate of embossed gold representing the sun, another of silver exhibiting the moon, and a considerable store of precious stones, collars of gold, rings, pendants, and other ornaments of the same metal, in the forms of birds and beasts, of admirable workmanship. These articles being displayed in order, upon matts made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile, turning to Cortes, told him by the interpreters, that the great emperor Motezuma had sent him these things in return for his present, and as a token of his regard for his monarch; but that it was neither convenient nor possible for him, at that time, to admit him to his court. This refusal Teutile endeavoured to soften, by representing the badness of the roads, and the savage nature of the Indians, who would take up arms to obstruct his march: but Hernan, who would not be so easily repulsed, received the present with marks of great respect, and answered, in a resolute tone, that how loth soever he might be to be wanting in obedience to Motezuma, he could not dishonour his king so much, as to return without having fulfilled his orders; and therefore he was obliged

obliged to insist upon being admitted to an audience. He then dismissed them with another present, promising to wait a certain time in that place for Motezuma's second answer to his demand; and assuring them he should be very much concerned at being obliged to advance farther without his permission. In this interval, he ordered Francisco de Montejo to cruize for ten days, with two vessels, along the coast, in the same course he had followed the year before with Grijalva, to take a view of the towns without landing, to search for some harbour or bay in which the fleet might be better sheltered from the north winds than in its present riding, and to look out for a piece of ground where the men could be more comfortably lodged than in their first quarters, which, being on a sandy soil, exposed them to the reflected heat of the sun, and the persecution of mosquitoes or gnats, which were extremely troublesome.

The perseverance of Cortes in his demand incensed Motezuma, who, in the first transports of his wrath, proposed to destroy at once those insolent strangers, who presumed to dispute his will; but, when his passion subsided, he changed his resolution, and his rage was succeeded by sorrow and consternation: he held private councils with his ministers and relations, public sacrifices were made in the temples, and he discovered, in all his behaviour, such marks of disturbance and confusion, that the people began to talk, without reserve, of the approaching ruin of the empire, and of the signs and presages by which it had been foreknown.



## C H A P. VII.

*Moteczuma is perplexed by the perseverance of Cortes, to whom he sends a second present, with an order to leave the coast. Hernan artfully quiets the murmurs of his people.*

**M**EXICO was then in the zenith of its glory, comprehending all the known provinces and countries in North America, and many petty kings or caciques, who were tributaries to Moteczuma, whose dominions extended above five hundred leagues from east to west, and in some places two hundred from north to south, the whole being populous, rich, and fertile. This empire, from a very small beginning, had risen to such a pitch of power and greatness, in the space of one hundred and thirty years; during which the Mexicans had subdued all their neighbours. They were first governed by a military chief, but, in the progress of their conquests, they chose a king, and their choice always fell upon the person of the most distinguished valour, without any other regard to hereditary succession, than that of preferring the blood royal, when it was not excelled by the merit of any other competitor. At first, justice was the rule of their conduct, but, as their dominion and power increased, they degenerated into tyranny and oppression.

Moteczuma, the second of that name, and eleventh king of Mexico, was of the blood royal, and in his youth signalized himself in the war, so as to acquire the reputation of a valiant captain, which inspired him with the ambition of ascending the throne; accordingly, when he returned to court, and though naturally of a surly disposition, (which is implied by his name) he exerted the arts of popularity, and dissembled a zeal for religion, with such success, that, when the throne became vacant, he was unanimously

ly elected sovereign. Having thus accomplished his aim, he laid aside his affability, altered the regulations of the court, compelled the nobles to serve him in the most menial offices, and inspired the people with such terror and awe, that they durst not look up in his presence, but considered his person as sacred and supernatural. His tyranny and pride produced many rebellions: but none of the revolting provinces could withstand the power of his arms, except Michoacan, Tlascala, and Tebeaca; and these he said he would not subdue, because they supplied him with captives, for sacrifices to his gods. When Cortes arrived on his coast he had reigned fourteen years, the last of which he passed in anxiety and consternation: for, immediately after Juan de Grijalva's expedition, he was terrified with portents and prodigies, which were supposed to presage the ruin of his empire. A dreadful comet appeared in the night, frightful exhalations flashed in the day, the lake of Mexico overflowed its banks with great impetuosity, though the weather was calm and dry, and the people imagined they heard lamentable voices in the air, foretelling the end of the monarchy. The Indians themselves related other circumstances more astonishing, which seem to have had no other foundation than their own fear and superstition. Nevertheless, these signs and portents, some of which were perhaps invented and magnified by the disaffected, made very deep impressions on the mind of Motezuma, and dismayed his counsellors to such a degree, that when the second message arrived from Cortes, they concluded themselves undone, and were utterly distracted in their opinions. Some proposed that the strangers should be treated as enemies to their gods and to their country; concluding, that the portents were sent as warnings to prevent their ruin, by putting them upon their guard: others, either from fear or moderation, were of opinion that the Spaniards

Spaniards ought to be received with reverence and respect, as creatures of an higher species, who had already given such fatal proofs of amazing courage, and invincible power, supported by the thunder and lightning of heaven. Motezuma, having heard their debates, resolved to follow a middle course, by sending another present to Cortes, with a message, commanding him to leave the coast; and, in case of his refusal to raise a powerful army, and act against him with his whole power.

While the court of Mexico was employed in these deliberations, Francisco de Montejo, whom Cortes had sent to view the coast, returned from his cruize, having found, at the distance of some leagues to the northward, a town called Quiabissau, situated in a fertile soil, well cultivated, near a large bay, where the ships could ride in safety; so that Hernan began to think of removing his quarters to that place, when his resolution was for the present suspended, by the arrival of Teutile and his captains, who came with their little perfuming pans, burning gum-copal; and, after the ceremonies of fumigation, produced Motezuma's second present, consisting of the same particulars that constituted the first, though in smaller quantity; together with four green stones like emeralds, to be presented to the king of Spain, as jewels of inestimable value. These articles were delivered, with an express injunction, commanding Cortes and his followers to be gone without delay: and the Spaniard still insisting upon making new efforts to see their monarch in person, Teutile started up with marks of anger and confusion, and, telling him, that hitherto Motezuma had treated him as a guest, but that it would be his own fault if he should find himself used as an enemy, turned his back, without waiting for an answer, and went hastily away. Cortes, in consequence of this abrupt departure, ordered the guards



to be doubled, and next day found a considerable alteration, that did not fail to disturb his men; for, the Indians that used to supply them with provision were gone, and not a soul appeared in all the country. The apprehension of want produced dissatisfaction among the soldiers, which was fomented by some friends of Diego Velasquez, who insinuated, that Cortes ambitiously pursued a rash design, which must undoubtedly end in the destruction of himself and all his followers, unless they should return to Cuba, to refit the fleet, and reinforce the army, so as to be less unequal to such an important enterprize. Cortes was not ignorant of their murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority was on his side, he shewed himself to the malecontents, in the name of whom Diego de Ordaz, with some warmth and disrespect remonstrated, that as their force was by no means proportioned to the design of subduing a mighty empire, it was now high time to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced by Diego de Velasquez, whose province it was to take proper measures for the success of such an enterprize.

Hernan, though extremely provoked at the insolent manner of this address, replied with great composure, that those who complained must be weary of good fortune; inasmuch as they had hitherto met with an uninterrupted series of success, above what their warmest hopes could have presaged; witness, their prosperity at Cozumel, and their victory at Tabasco: nevertheless, he had no inclination to put the least constraint upon his soldiers, and, since they refused to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to Cuba. After this declaration, which could not fail to silence Diego de Ordaz and his party, he actually published his intended return, and ordered the captains to embark with their respective companies, that they might be ready

to sail next morning; but while this pretended resolution was made public, his emissaries, according to the directions they had received, began to exert their eloquence among the soldiers, observing, with affected warmth, that they had been deceived by Hernan Cortes, who, contrary to his promise of making a settlement in that country, was now on the point of deserting it, notwithstanding their unexpected success; they therefore suggested, that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might retire with his own friends, and they would soon find another gentleman who would assume the command. These insinuations were so artfully diffused, as to bring over many of those who had espoused the contrary faction; and the clamour increased to such a degree, that some of Hernan's friends were obliged to interpose, with a view to appease the disturbance they themselves had raised. They commended the spirit of the men, and, without giving them time to cool, led them directly to Cortes, to whom they represented, that the soldiers were ready to mutiny, on account of the order he had given for re-embarkation, which they supposed was contrary to the advice of the other captains, and altogether unworthy of Spanish courage, which no danger or difficulties ought to overcome. Cortes, overjoyed at the good effect of his expedient, answered, that he had been misinformed by some of those who were principally concerned in the success of the undertaking; for they had assured him, that all the men loudly exclaimed against the prosecution of the scheme; but, as he had taken the resolution of returning to please his soldiers, he would now stay with much more satisfaction, since he found them so well disposed for the service of their king and country: yet as war was an employment altogether unfit for those who exercised it contrary to their own inclinations, he would immediately provide vessels and  
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provisions for transporting to Cuba, all those who did not chuse to follow his fortune. This reply was received with universal acclamation and applause; and those who were dissatisfied, either wholly laid aside, or concealed their discontent.

### C H A P. VIII.

*Cortes makes a settlement, to which he gives the name of Villa-rica de la Vera Cruz; receives a new commission from this corporation; sends the ships round to Quiabistan, for which place he begins his march by land; enters Zempoalla, and makes an alliance with the cacique.*

AT this period, Cortes was visited by five deputies from the cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province, with proffers of friendship and alliance, which Cortes willingly embraced, as a particular favour of heaven, arriving at a time when he was abandoned by the Mexicans; and his satisfaction was still the greater, when he understood that Zempoalla was in the road to that place whither he intended to remove his quarters: nay, he was still better pleased upon hearing that the Zempoallans, though tributary to Motezuma, detested that prince for his cruelty and pride, because he foresaw that he should be able to make a party of this distressed people, that would facilitate his future success. He therefore dismissed the deputies with presents, and professions of friendship to the cacique, whom he promised to visit in his route to Quiabistan.

In the mean time having, in concert with his friends, laid the plan of a corporation, to be established on this continent, Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, and Francisco de Montejo, were appointed alcaldes; Alonzo Davila, Pedro and Alonzo de



Alvarado, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, were constituted regidores; the chief alguazil, and procurator-general, were Juan de Escalante and Francisco Alvarez Chico. These appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers; and, having taken the accustomed oath, to act according to the dictates of justice, and their duty to God and the king, they began to exercise their functions with the usual solemnity, and distinguished their new settlement by the name of Villa-rica de la Vera Cruz, a title which it preserved in the place where it was afterwards fixed, for as yet the corporation was ambulatory.

The intention of Cortes, in establishing this community, was to divest himself of that uneasy dependence upon Velasquez, which he hitherto sustained; and therefore on the very next morning after their institution, the council being assembled, on pretence of consulting about the augmentation and preservation of the new settlement, Cortes desired admittance, and having paid his respects to the magistracy, observed, that, before they proceeded to the consideration of other affairs, it would be necessary to give a sanction to the authority of that command upon which all their hopes depended. He frankly owned, that he had no other title than that which he derived from Velasquez, and as they knew he no longer obeyed his principal, he would not pretend to conceal the defect in his constitution, but was resolved to resign his command into their hands; that, as representatives of his majesty, they might freely proceed to the election of a leader: and, for his own part, as he had nothing at heart so much as the success of the undertaking, he could, with perfect resignation, take up a soldier's pike with that hand which laid down the staff of a general. So saying, he laid his commission upon the table, kissed the truncheon, and delivering it to the alcaldes, retired to his barrack in the capacity of a private man.

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The council, as the affair had been preconcerted, unanimously admitted of his resignation, but with the same unanimity voted that he should be appointed general of the army, with a new commission made out by them in the king's name, to be in force until they should know his majesty's pleasure. The people, being called together by a public crier, were made acquainted with the resignation of Cortes, and the resolution of the council; at which they expressed uncommon joy, and immediately proceeded to Hernan's quarters, with the alcaldes and regidores, who gave him to understand, that the town of Villa-rica had, in the name of the king Don Carlos, and with the consent and approbation of the inhabitants, in full council, chosen and appointed him general of the army in New Spain; and, in case it were necessary, did require and command him to exercise the functions of that station, for the public good, and his majesty's service.

Hernan accepted this command with great respect, and now began to rule with inward satisfaction and security, which had a good effect upon the discipline of the soldiers. But the friends of Velasquez resented this alteration in a very indiscreet manner: they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council, openly inveighed against the ambition of Cortes, talked contemptuously of those who adhered to his interest; and, with the breath of slander industriously communicated, began to kindle a flame of dissension, that would have proved of the worst consequences to the expedition, had not Cortes, finding more moderate expedients ineffectual, extinguished it at once, by a step that argued his uncommon fortitude and penetration. He ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Escudero, and Juan Velasquez de Leon to be publicly seized, carried on board the ships, and put in irons; and perceiving that their imprisonment struck a terror into

the troops, he declared, in a resolute tone, that he would proceed against them even unto death, as seditious persons, and perturbators of the public peace. In this affectation of severity he continued some days, during which he would suffer no person to visit the prisoners; but afterwards their friends were admitted to their conversation, and among the rest some of his confidants, who found means to reduce them to reason: so that he suffered himself to be pacified, and so effectually conciliated their affections, that in the sequel they stood by him with unshaken fidelity and friendship.

Cortes, having made the proper dispositions, ordered the ships to sail for the bay of Quiabisan, whether he resolved to march by land; and, setting out accordingly, he, in a few hours, reached the river of Zempoalla, which the soldiers passed in canoes, the horses being obliged to swim: then the army arrived at some houses in this district, which they found entirely abandoned and unfurnished, though the natives had left in their temples several idols, and instruments edged with flint, together with the miserable remains of human victims, which at once moved horror and compassion. Here likewise they saw three or four Mexican books, made of a long skin or varnished cloth folded in leaves, upon which were painted hieroglyphics, and characters explaining the mysteries of their religion.

The Spaniards, having placed proper guards and sentinels, passed the night in these empty houses; and next day, continuing their march along the most beaten road that turned off to the westward, leading farther from the shore, they saw not one person during the whole morning, until, entering some very delightful meadows, they were met by twelve Indians, loaded with hens and bread, as a present to Cortes from the cacique of Zempoalla, who invited him to his town, where he had provided quarters



ters for the Christians. Six of these Indians were dismissed, with an acknowledgment for the hospitality of their chief, and Cortes detained the rest as guides to the town, which they told him was at the distance of a day's journey. That night they halted in a small village, where they were kindly entertained by the poor inhabitants; and in the morning they marched forward for Zempoalla, according to the direction of the guides; though their motions were performed with all imaginable caution, as Cortes still doubted the sincerity of the Indians. In the evening they approached the town, from which twenty Indians, well dressed after their fashion, came forth to receive Cortes, with an apology from their cacique, who was kept at home by a natural infirmity. This was a large city, affording a beautiful prospect, situated between two rivers, and built of stone, and the houses were whitened with a sort of bright shining lime, which exhibited such a noble view at a distance, that one of the scouts returned to the army, crying aloud, that the walls were of silver. The squares and streets were filled with an innumerable multitude, drawn together by curiosity; and when the Spaniards entered, the cacique appeared at the gate of his palace, supported by some of his nobles; for he was so monstrously fat, that he could neither stand nor move. He was covered with a mantle of fine cotton, adorned with various jewels; he wore pendants in his ears and lips, and when he was brought forwards to salute Cortes, his appearance was so unweildy and ridiculous, that the Spaniards could hardly maintain that gravity which is the characteristic of their nation. However, he spoke to the purpose; and having welcomed his valiant guest with well-turned compliments of respect, he desired Cortes to repose himself after his journey, and he would visit him in his lodgings, where they would con-

verse more at leisure about their mutual interest. The troops immediately retired to the quarters which he had provided in square courts, furnished with a number of apartments, where they found plenty of provision and all necessaries: then the cacique sent a present to the general, of gold and other curiosities, to the value of 2000 pesos; and afterwards came in person with a splendid retinue, carried in a chair, on the shoulders of the chief of his family. Cortes went forth to receive him, attended by his captains; and, retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the Spanish king, whose ambassador he was; and told him, the design of his coming was to redress wrongs, punish violence, and espouse the cause of justice and reason. He artfully touched this string, in order to wake the Indian's resentment against Motezuma, that he might gradually discover what advantages could be reaped from his indignation: and indeed the words were no sooner pronounced, than the cacique changed colour: he began to sigh like one afraid of disclosing his affliction; but, his resentment prevailing over every other consideration, he broke forth into bitter lamentations, importing that he and all the neighbouring caciques groaned under the tyranny of Motezuma, who oppressed his tributaries, and caused himself to be adored by his subjects, as if he was one of their gods. Not that he wished to engage Cortes in a quarrel with such a powerful emperor, whose power was irresistible; but he could not help complaining to his friends, of the miserable oppression he was obliged to endure. Hernan gave him to understand, that, in a righteous cause, the Spaniards would little regard the power of Motezuma; but at present he was on his march to Quibislan, where those who were injured and oppressed should find him always ready to redress their wrongs; and,

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and, in the mean time, he might assure his friends and confederates, that he would willingly undertake their defence. This was the subject of their conversation: after which the cacique took his leave, extremely well satisfied; nor was Cortes less pleased at the prospect of such a powerful alliance, with which he hoped to strengthen his interest in the prosecution of his scheme.

### CHAP. IX.

*He proceeds to Quiabitsan; seizes Motezuma's commissaries; makes a strong confederacy of the Indian caciques; builds the town of Vera Cruz, and receives an embassy from the emperor of Mexico.*

**W**HEN the army was ready to march, they found four hundred Indians of burthen, called tamenés, provided by the cacique, as porters to carry the baggage and provisions, and help to conduct the artillery. The country was pleasant and fertile, partly covered with trees, and partly cultivated in corn fields. They stayed all night at a little village that was deserted; and next morning they arrived at Quiabitsan, strongly situated upon a rocky eminence, that rendered it very difficult of access: nevertheless they entered without opposition; nor did they perceive any person in the place, until, coming to a square in which were the temples, fifteen Indians handsomely dressed came out with their perfuming pans, making abundance of abject cringes, and marks of submission which denoted fear. Cortes ordered them to be civilly treated, and presented with some glass beads; so that recovering their spirits, they informed him that the cacique had withdrawn himself, in order to avoid a war; as he neither chose to deny them admittance, nor trust his



person to armed troops whom he did not know; and that the inhabitants could not be prevented from following his example. As for themselves, they had staid to know the intencion of the strangers; and now they were convinced of their quiet and honourable disposition, they would communicate the news to the fugitives, who might return peaceably to their houses, and serve them with ail fidelity and obedience: accordingly some families came back that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants. In a few days the cacique himself returned, and was introduced by the cacique of Zempoalla, who made an handsome excuse for his friend; and the conversation turned upon the despotism of Motezuma, against whom he of Quiabistan inveighed with great bitterness, as a monster, who not only impoverished them by the imposition of taxes, but likewise robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whose blood he stained the altars of his gods, after having sacrificed their honour to more abominable purposes. Their discourse was interrupted by the entrance of three Indians, who having whispered something in a seeming fright, the two caciques changed colour, and hastily retired with marks of terror and confusion: their disorder was owing to the arrival of six commissaries of Motezuma, who passed the quarters of the Spaniards in great pomp, adorned with plumes and pendants, and attended by a number of servants, or inferior officers, who cooled them with fans made of feathers. Cortes went to the gate to see them, while they proceeded with such insolent and contemptuous looks, that the soldiers were provoked, and would have chastised them on the spot, had not they been restrained by the general, who contented himself with sending Donna Marina, properly guarded, to know the cause of their coming. By these means he understood, that, after having seated themselves

in the town-house, they summoned the caciques to appear before them, and reprimanding them sharply for entertaining strangers who were enemies to their king, they demanded, over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be sacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for the crime they had committed.

Cortes, having received this intelligence, ordered some soldiers to bring the caciques to his presence, when, telling them that he knew the inhuman purpose of the commissaries, which he would not suffer them to obey, he commanded them without fail to assemble their people and seize the Mexicans, and leave the rest to his conduct and discretion. At first they were terrified at the proposal, with which they absolutely refused to comply, until Cortes repeating his order with a resolute and peremptory tone, they actually went and executed his command upon the ministers of Motezuma, whom they confined by the necks in a kind of wooden pillory, from which they suffered equal pain and disgrace, to the infinite satisfaction of the people, who demanded that they might either die the death of traitors, or be sacrificed to the gods without delay. Cortes, however, would not grant their request, though it was enforced by the caciques; but, having secured them with a guard of Spanish soldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive some method for extricating himself from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Motezuma, and he thought it a point of the highest consequence to maintain and augment the party which he had already formed against that prince; and therefore, he resolved to do something of which he could make a merit with the Mexican emperor, without giving the caciques any reason to think him cold or remiss in their interest. In consequence of these reflections,

he, at midnight, sent privately for two of the prisoners, and having treated them with great courtesy, told them they were now at liberty, and as they had received their freedom solely from him, they might assure their prince, he would endeavour to release the rest of their companions, and make the caciques sensible of their misdemeanor; for, he was desirous of peace, and of deserving, by his respectful conduct, that civility from Motezuma, which was due to the ambassador of such a mighty prince. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal astonishment and pleasure; but, as they durst not set out on their journey for fear of being killed or taken, the Spanish soldiers conducted them to the bay, and one of the boats convoyed them beyond the district of Zempoalla. In the morning the caciques came to Cortes, very much troubled at the escape of the two prisoners, and he received the news with signs of surprize and concern, blaming their want of care and vigilance: but, that no accident of that kind might happen for the future, he said, he would take the care upon himself of guarding the rest, whom he forthwith ordered to be carried on board of the fleet, where, by his private directions, they were kindly entertained. Thus, without losing the confidence of the caciques, he conferred an obligation upon Motezuma, whose power was so great, that he did not chuse wantonly to provoke his resentment.

The moderation and beneficence of the Spaniards towards their allies was quickly divulged among all the neighbouring districts, and the caciques of Zempoalla and Quiabitslan communicated to all their friends the happiness they enjoyed under the protection of those invincible people, who had delivered them from slavery and imposition. The common people believed the gods were come down to dart lightning against Motezuma, and the name of liberty



berty sounded so charming in the ears of the oppressed, that, in a few days, Cortes was visited at Quia-bislan by above thirty caciques of the mountain in sight, on which were numerous settlements of a rustic people called Totonagues, who made their submission, swore fealty to the king of Spain, and offered to assist him with an incredible number of armed Indians against the tyranny of Motezuma.

This confederacy being formed, and authenticated in the most solemn manner, those chiefs retired to their respective places of habitation. Hernan Cortes resolved to settle the corporation of Villarica de la Vera Cruz, which hitherto had moved with the army, though under proper distinctions as a republic: for this purpose he pitched upon a plain, between Quibislan and the sea, of a fertile soil, well watered, and abounding with timber, proper for the purposes of building. They began, by laying the foundation of a church, and the handicraft-men among the Spaniards being assisted by the industry and skill of their Indian friends, the houses were soon reared, and the town encompassed with a wall of mud, sufficient to defend it against all methods of attack used in that country.

Motezuma being informed that the cacique of Zempoalla, who was a suspected person, had admitted the strangers into his town, resolved to assemble his forces, not only to chastise this rebellious tributary, but also to go in person against the Spaniards, whom he destined as a sacrifice to his gods: but his preparations for this enterprize were prevented by the arrival of the two Indians whom Cortes had released. These having given an account of their imprisonment, and of the courteous treatment and message they had received from the Spanish general, Motezuma's anger was appeased, and he determined to have recourse again to the expedient of negotiation, and try to divert  
Cortes

Cortès from his design, by a new embassy and present; for, in the midst of his pride, he remembered and trembled at the portentous signals of heaven, and the unfavourable responses of the oracles which he consulted.

The settlement and fortress of Vera Cruz was almost perfected when this embassy was brought by two nephews of the emperor, attended by four ancient caciques, who served as counsellors to their youth and inexperience. Their retinue was very splendid: the present, consisting of gold, feathers and cotton, was worth two thousand pieces of eight; and the message delivered to Cortes was to this effect: That Motezuma, being informed of the insolence of the two caciques who had committed such an outrage upon his officers, resolved to come in person with a powerful army to chastise them; but, as he was unwilling to break with the Spaniards, to whose captain he was obliged for the release of his two servants, he requested them to leave the territories of his rebellious chiefs, that they might run no risque of sharing their punishment; desiring, at the same time, that the general would set the rest of his officers at liberty, and desist from his design of coming to Mexico, because the dangers and impediments attending such a journey were unsurmountable. Cortes received the embassy and presents with great respect, and having ordered the four imprisoned officers to be brought ashore, delivered them to the ambassadors; observing, that he was highly pleased with such an opportunity of shewing his regard to the emperor; that, though he could not help owning the insolence of the caciques, he thought it in some measure excusable, from the extravagancy of the officers themselves, who, not contented with the ordinary tribute, had, of their own authority, demanded twenty Indians for their sacrifices: a proposal of such diabolical cruelty, as  
could

could not but be shocking to the Spaniards, who were bred in another religion, of greater piety and regard to human nature: that finding himself obliged to the caciques, for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, after he was discourteously abandoned by Tentile and Pilpatoe, he could not help interceding with Motezuma in their behalf, especially as they, together with the Totanaque mountaineers, were now in a special manner under his protection: that when he should be so happy as to appear in the emperor's presence, he would communicate the importance of his embassy; and, in the mean time, he would pay no regard to impediments and dangers, which served only to whet the resolution of the Spaniards, who were accustomed to seek glory amidst the greatest difficulties. With this resolute answer, and a present of Castilian trifles to their monarch, the ambassadors went away, not a little dissatisfied at the obstinacy of Cortes, who from this circumstance acquired fresh reputation among the nations: for the Indians were now fully persuaded, that he must be some deity, whose friendship the haughty Motezuma solicited with such presents and submission.



## C H A P. X.

*Cortes makes an expedition to Zempazingo, and reconciles the natives of that place to the Zempoallans; demolishes the idols at Zempoalla, and converts the temple into a Christian church; returns to Vera Cruz, and sends dispatches to Spain.*

SOON after this occurrence, the cacique of Zempoalla, coming to Vera Cruz, told Cortes, that now the time was come for his defending their country from the Mexicans, some troops of whom had arrived at Zempazingo, a strong place, at the distance of two days journey, from whence they already made excursions into his district, where they destroyed the corn fields, and committed other acts of hostility.—Hernan, thinking it was incumbent upon him to protect his new allies, and necessary to strike a terror into Motezuma's army, of which he supposed these were some advanced parties, desired the cacique to provide Indians of burthen for the baggage and artillery; and, having made a proper disposition, began his march immediately, at the head of four hundred Spaniards. As he passed by Zempoalla, he was joined by two thousand armed Indians, whom the cacique had assembled to serve under him in this expedition: that night he quartered his troops in some houses within three leagues of Zempazingo, and next day, in the afternoon, he discovered the town, situated upon the top of a small hill, among steep rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered the access very difficult. Nevertheless, his men overcame the sleepiness of the road, without having met with any resistance; and he was preparing to attack the place in several parts, when he was prevented by a deputation from the town, of eight ancient priests, clothed

clothed in black mantles, gathered and platted about the neck, with a piece hanging loose in form of a hood that kept the head warm. These venerable ambassadors, whose long hair was clotted, and whose faces and hands were stained with the blood of human sacrifices, approached the general with marks of the most abject submission, and, in a suppliant whining tone, asked by what offence the poor inhabitants had merited the indignation of a people so famed for clemency and goodness. Cortes answered, that he had no design against the inhabitants, but came to chastise the Mexican soldiers quartered in the town, who had infested the territories of his friends. To this declaration the priests replied, that the Mexican troops, who were in garrison at Zempazingo, had retired farther up into the country, as soon as they heard that Motezuma's officers were imprisoned at Quiabitslan, and that he was misled by the false suggestions of the Zempoallans, who, being their inveterate enemies, had feigned this story to make him the instrument of their revenge. Cortes immediately discovered the truth of this allegation, by the confusion and frivolous evasions of the Zempoallan officers; and, being nettled at the deceit, which was a reflection upon his penetration, he sent for the Indians, who had by this time begun to plunder and make prisoners, and they being brought into his presence loaded with booty, and followed by the miserable inhabitants, crying aloud for justice, he ordered them to unbind their captives, and restore the goods to the right owners; and publickly told the Zempoallan captains, in very angry terms, that they had incurred the penalty of death by their presumption, in engaging him by deceit as a party in their revenge. However, he suffered himself to be appeased by the intercession of his own officers, whom he had beforehand instructed for the purpose, though in truth he durst not venture

ture to proceed rigorously, for fear of losing the friendship of his new allies. After having reprimanded the Zempoallans in this manner, he commanded them to lodge without the town, while he himself entering with his Spaniards, was received as a deliverer, and visited by the cacique, accompanied by others of the neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themselves as subjects of the king of Spain. His next task was to adjust the differences between these Indians and the Zempoallans, which had begun about the division of their districts, and grown to a most rancorous pitch of animosity. He formed a scheme for compromising the affair, and, having made them friends, returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his interest and reputation highly advanced by the issue of this expedition, which he had too credulously undertaken; hereby demonstrating himself a consummate politician, in being able to convert even his own errors to the advantage of his design.

In his return, he found the cacique of Zempoalla waiting for him, at some distance from his town, with great store of provision for the refreshment of the army; and perceiving that chief was ashamed at his conduct, by the confusion of his speech and countenance, he assured him he had laid aside his displeasure; and they went together into the town, where the cacique had provided a present of eight virgins curiously adorned, among whom was his own niece, whom he recommended as a wife to Cortes, that their friendship might be strengthened by the ties of blood. The general thanked him kindly for this proof of his sincerity and affection, but gave him to understand, that it was not lawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman who differed from him in point of religion; and took this opportunity of declaiming against their idolatry and superstition with more zeal than discretion. About this

time



time the Zempoallans were assembled on one of their most solemn festivals, in order to celebrate a sacrifice of human blood, which being performed with horrible ceremonies, the unhappy victims were cut in pieces, and sold to the people as sacred food. Cortes, being informed of this transaction, was so much transported with indignation, that, forgetting every other motive, he instantly commanded the soldiers to arm and bring before him the cacique, and principal Indians who used to attend him: with these he proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops; and the priests, hearing of his approach, came running to the gate, calling, with loud and hideous outcries, the people to the defence of their gods. Some troops of armed Indians, whom they had provided in case of any disturbance, immediately posted themselves in the avenues of the temple; and Hernan Cortes, seeing the inhabitants assembling in great numbers, ordered Donna Marina to tell them aloud, that on the first arrow they should let fly, he would cause the throats of the cacique, and all the principal Indians who were in his power to be cut, and afterwards permit his soldiers to punish their presumption with fire and sword. The cacique, trembling at this dreadful remonstrance, commanded them to lay down their arms and retire; and they obeying with the utmost expedition, Cortes began to declaim against the barbarous absurdity of their religion with great emphasis and elocution, till, being gradually wrought up to a degree of enthusiastic fervour, he proposed that they should immediately ascend the steps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands: and when they prostrated themselves upon the ground, declaring, with tears and lamentations, that they would suffer all extremities of torture, rather than commit such impious sacrilege, he ordered the soldiers to perform the task, and in a twinkling the idols were flung down and broken

to pieces, to the unspeakable horror of the Indians, who stood motionless, expecting to see the immediate vengeance of heaven; but, perceiving how unable their gods were to defend themselves, their superstition was changed into contempt, and they themselves assisted the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their deities. The walls were immediately cleansed, and the temple being purified, was converted into a Christian church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in which mass was next day celebrated with great solemnity.

The Spaniards, having taken this step towards the reformation of their allies, returned to Vera Cruz, where they were reinforced by ten soldiers and two horses, brought thither from Cuba in a vessel commanded by Francisco de Saucedo, in company with Luis Marin: and this small addition was, at that time, reckoned a considerable supply. By these gentlemen the general learned, that Velasquez had obtained the title of king's lieutenant of the island, with a power to make new discoveries and settlements; which new honour had augmented his pride, and rendered him altogether implacable against Cortes, whom he resolved to persecute with all his might. This information hastened Hernan's resolution of laying his proceedings before the king; and accordingly the council of Vera Cruz wrote a letter, containing an account of the expedition, and a detail of the injurious behaviour of Velasquez towards Hernan Cortes, in consideration of whose great merit, they besought his majesty to grant him a commission of captain-general, that he might act for the service of his country, without any dependance upon the governor of Cuba. Nor did Cortes himself omit explaining, on this occasion, the foundation of the hope he entertained of reducing the Mexican empire to the obedience of his majesty, and the disposition he was making to contend with Motezuma, by

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the help of his own revolted subjects. These dispatches being finished, were committed to the care of Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, and Francisco Montejo, who embarked for Spain on the 16th of July, 1519, on board of the best ship of the fleet, piloted by Antonio de Alaminos, and carrying as an offering to his majesty all the gold, jewels, and curiosities they had acquired, together with some Indians, who voluntarily undertook the voyage, and a particular present from Hernan to his father Martin Cortes.

## C H A P. XI.

*A conspiracy is formed against Cortes, who orders the ships to be destroyed; he begins his march for Mexico; stays several days at Zocotlan; proceeds to Xacazingo, and sends ambassadors to Tlascala.*

WHILE the general was employed in making preparations for this service, some of the soldiers and sailors privately concerted the means of escaping to Cuba, with intelligence to Velasquez, who might send out cruizers to make prize of the ship: and, for this purpose, they had made sure of a vessel, and laid in provisions for the voyage; when on the very night they had appointed for their flight, one of the conspirators, touched with the enormity of their design, went and revealed the whole scheme to Cortes, who took his measures with such secrecy and discretion, that all the accomplices were seized on board of the vessel, and forthwith confessed the crime of which they were accused. The general finding it absolutely necessary to inflict an exemplary punishment, they were brought to trial: two soldiers, the ringleaders of the conspiracy, were condemned to die, other two were whipped as old offenders, the principal mariner of the ship was sentenced



tenced to lose one of his feet, and the rest were pardoned as people who had been drawn in and deceived.

This conspiracy gave great uneasiness to Cortes, who considered it as the consequence of past disturbances, and the spark of a flame, which, if not extinguished, might prove very mischievous in the prosecution of his scheme: his mind was agitated by various uneasy reflections, and after having revolved a number of different expedients, he formed a resolution which evinced the greatness of his soul; this was to destroy the ships, that the soldiers, being bereft of all means to escape, might act with more ardour and unanimity, and enable him to conquer or die. He communicated this scheme to his confidants, who, by seasonable gifts and insinuations, exerted themselves among the men in such a manner, that the sailors themselves unanimously declared the ships would founder in consequence of the damage they had sustained: so that Cortes seemed to act according to their own dictates, when he ordered them to bring ashore the sails, tackling and iron, together with all the serviceable planks, and to sink all the great vessels, reserving only the boats for fishing; and by this destruction of the fleet, he gained a reinforcement to his army, of above an hundred men, who acted as pilots and mariners on board.

Having performed this action, which was truly worthy of his heroic spirit, he with his officers concerted measures for pursuing the expedition: he left an hundred and fifty men with two horses in garrison at Vera Cruz, under the command of Juan de Escalante, whom he recommended in the strongest terms to the friendship and assistance of the neighbouring caciques; and, assembling his whole force at Zempoalla, mustered five hundred foot, fifteen horse, with six pieces of cannon. The

cacique

cacique had provided two hundred tamenes and a considerable number of armed troops as auxiliaries, out of which Hernan picked four hundred men, including forty or fifty noble Indians, whom, though he treated them as his own soldiers, he carried as hostages for the security of the church of Zempoalla, the Spaniards at Vera Cruz and his own page, whom he left with the cacique to learn the Mexican language, in case he should lose his interpreters. All things being in readiness for the march, an express arrived from Juan de Escalante, with advice that some ships were seen hovering on the coast; and Cortes went immediately to Vera Cruz, leaving the command of the troops to Pedro de Alvarada and Gonzalo de Sandoval. At his arrival, he perceived one of the vessels at anchor at a considerable distance from the land, and on the shore were four Spaniards, consisting of an escrivano and witnesses, who delivered to Cortes a notification, containing in substance, that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had, by virtue of an order from the king, embarked on board of three ships, two hundred and seventy Spaniards, under the command of Alonzo de Pineda, and taken possession of that land on the side of the river of Panuco, and therefore he sent intimation to require of Cortes, that he should not make any settlements that way. Hernan told him, he did not understand these forms of law, but would meet the captain and adjust the affair in an amicable manner, for the service of the king, to whom they equally owed allegiance. But the notary refusing to carry this message, and insisting in a disrespectful manner upon having a direct answer to his notification, Cortes ordered them to be seized, and, concealing himself and his men among some sand-hills near the shore, stayed all night and part of the next day, in hopes that others would land from  
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the ship : at length he directed four of his men to put on the cloaths of the prisoners, and to go down to the sea-side, where they should make signals with their cloaks. In consequence of this stratagem, twelve or fourteen men, armed with fire-arms and cross-bows, rowed towards them in a boat, and as they approached, the four men gradually retired, but all of them refused to land, except three of the least considerate, who were immediately taken, and their companions returned on board the vessel, which immediately weighed anchor and stood to sea ; while Cortes returned to Zempoalla with this small recruit of seven Spaniards, which was counted a very considerable reinforcement. In a few days after his return, he drew up the army in order, forming a body of Spaniards for the van-guard, and another of Indians for the rear, commanded by Mamegi, Théuche and Tamilli, caciques of the mountains : the strongest tamenes were reserved for the artillery, and the rest ordered to take charge of the baggage. In this disposition, and furnished with an advanced party to reconnoitre, they began their march on the 16th day of August, and in their route, were kindly entertained at Jalapa, Socochima, and Texucla, towns belonging to their confederacy. The first difficulty they met with in their road to Mexico, was the rough part of the mountain, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in very cold and rainy weather, from the inclemency of which, the soldiers had no shelter : and their provisions began to fail when they reached the summit, where they found a temple and a great quantity of wood ; but here they made no stay, because on the other side they descried some villages, to which they hastened their march, and the toil of their dispatch was recompenced with refreshment and accommodation.

Here began the large and populous province of Zo  
cothlan



cothlan, the cacique of which resided in a city of the same name, situated in the valley at the foot of the mountain. To this prince, Cortes sent notice of his arrival and design, by two of the Zempoallans, who quickly returned with a favourable answer; and in a little time, they discovered the city, which made a magnificent figure with towers and edifices, that seemed white at a distance, and being by one of the soldiers compared to Castle-Blanco in Portugal, it for some time retained that appellation. The cacique, with a numerous attendance, came forth and received the general with a kind of forced civility: the quarters provided for the troops were incommodious, the provisions scanty, so that it plainly appeared he was not very well pleased with his guests; but Cortes prudently stifled his resentment, that he might give the Indian no handle to engage him in hostilities, which might retard his journey, or prejudice his aim. Next day, the cacique, whose name was Olindeth, repeated his visit to Cortes, who having received him with great civility, among other questions, asked whether he was subject to the king of Mexico. The other readily answered, "Is there any man upon earth who is not a slave to Motezuma?" When Hernan scornfully replied, that he himself, and those who accompanied him, obeyed another king, who had many subjects more powerful than Motezuma, the cacique, without paying much attention to these words, proceeded to display the grandeur of his emperor: he said, the provinces under his dominion were not to be reckoned, that he resided in an impregnable city, founded in the midst of lakes, accessible only by dykes or causeways, with drawbridges over several openings, through which there was a communication of the water. Then he expatiated upon the immensity of his riches, the strength of his armies, and the misery of his ene-

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mies, above twenty thousand of whom were yearly sacrificed on the altars of his gods. Cortes easily perceived the drift of this discourse, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, in order to deter him from proceeding: but, without seeming to penetrate into his design, answered that he was already well informed of the grandeur of Motezuma; that his own embassy was peaceable, his men being appointed rather as a mark of authority, than a martial-guard: but, nevertheless, he desired peace without being afraid of war; for, the most inconsiderable Spaniard was able to cope with a whole army of Indians: that he would never draw the sword without provocation; but, if compelled to acts of hostility, he would destroy his enemies with fire and sword: for, nature would assist him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning, in defence of the cause of religion and truth. This declaration, which has the air of a ridiculous rhodomontade, was extremely well calculated for the intellects of the Indians, who were confounded and overawed at the intrepidity of the Spaniards, which they attributed to something supernatural.

The cacique owned to father Bartolome de Olmedo, that the Christians were of a superior race of men, that their reasons were surprizingly convincing, and their valour invincible: with these sentiments, he entirely altered his conduct, and plentifully supplied them with all necessaries for the space of five days, during which they stayed in Zocothlan; as for the general, he treated him with infinite respect, presented him with four female slaves, and offered to supply him with twenty noble Indians as guides for the army. Notwithstanding these civilities, he was still at heart a slave to Motezuma, and, by his direction, advised Cortes to continue his march by the way of Cholula, a fertile

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tile country, well peopled with inhabitants, who, being wholly inclined to merchandize and the arts of peace, would plentifully supply his troops in their passage; whereas should he take the road of Tlascala, he must march through a country possessed by a bloody-minded people, addicted to cruelty and war. This advice, however, was rejected in consequence of the information Cortes received from the Zempoallans of his army, who assured him privately, that the Cholulans were a faithless people, wholly devoted to Motezuma, whose troops were quartered in all the towns of their district: whereas the Tlascalans, though numerous and warlike, were friends to the Totonagues and Zempoallans, and continually at war with Motezuma; for which reasons, they counselled him to march through that province, where he would be well treated, as their ally and confederate. In consequence of these representations, he proceeded on his march to the province of Tlascala that bordered upon Zocothlan, and, during the first days, nothing considerable occurred; but afterwards, hearing the country was in arms, he resolved to halt in a small town called Xacazingo, until he should be better informed of their intention.

Tlascala, being about fifty leagues in circumference, abounded with inhabitants, though the land was mountainous and uneven, and the town, consisting of houses rather durable than handsome, was built upon different eminences, partly for defence, and partly with a view to leave the plain for the purposes of cultivation. At first the people were governed by kings, till, weary of tyranny, they shook off the yoke, and formed themselves into a commonwealth: they divided the towns into a certain number of districts, and each sent a representative to Tlascala, where they constituted a senate, the resolutions of which the whole province obeyed.



Under this form of government, they had long maintained themselves against the kings of Mexico, and were now at their highest pitch of power; for, the cruelty of Motezuma had augmented the number of their confederates, among whom they reckoned the Otomies, a warlike nation, famed alike for valour and barbarity.

To this republic Cortes sent four of the chief Zempoallans, who were amply instructed by Donna Marina and Aguilar, how to harangue the senate in demanding a passage for the Spaniards through the territories of Tlascala. They immediately assumed the ensigns of ambassadors; each putting on his shoulder a wreathed cotton tippet knotted at the ends, bearing in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target of shell: when the purport of the embassy is war, the feathers of the arrow are red, but white when their errand is peace. By these symbols they were known and respected on the high roads, though, if they turned aside, they forfeited their privileges and immunities.

In this manner the four envoys of Cortes entered Tlascala, where they were lodged in a house set apart for the reception of ambassadors, and next day were introduced into the senate, the members of which rose from their little chairs, called yopales, to bid them welcome. The ambassadors entered with their arrows raised on high, and their tippets on their heads in token of extraordinary veneration; then, having paid their respects to the senate, they walked leisurely to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled with their eyes fixed upon the ground, waiting for permission to speak. When the elder senator desired them to declare their business, they seated themselves upon their legs, and he who was pitched upon as the orator, expressed himself to this effect.

“ Noble

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“ Noble republic, valiant Tlascalans, the lord  
 “ of Zempoalla and the mountain caciques, your  
 “ friends and allies, wishing you health abundance,  
 “ and the destruction of your enemies, send us to  
 “ give you notice that an invincible race of men  
 “ are arrived from the east, and seem to be more  
 “ than human; for, they sail upon palaces, and  
 “ wield the thunder and lightning: yet they wor-  
 “ ship an Almighty Being superior to our gods, who  
 “ is offended at the sacrifices of human blood.  
 “ Their general is ambassador from a powerful  
 “ prince, who desires to reform the abuses of our  
 “ country, and repress the tyranny of Motezuma:  
 “ he has already rescued our provinces from op-  
 “ pression, and as he means to pass through your  
 “ territories, in his way to Mexico, he desires to  
 “ know wherein you have been aggrieved by the  
 “ tyrant, that he may redress your wrongs. We  
 “ have experienced his valour and beneficence, and,  
 “ in the name of our caciques and confederates,  
 “ admonish and request you to entertain those  
 “ strangers as the friends of your allies: for, their  
 “ captain assures you, that he comes in a peaceable  
 “ manner, demanding nothing but a free passage  
 “ through your country, in order to prosecute his  
 “ march, and fulfil his upright intentions.” The  
 speech being thus concluded, the four Indians  
 raised themselves upon their knees, and, making a  
 profound reverence to the senate, sat down as be-  
 fore, in expectation of an answer. The senators,  
 having conferred among themselves, gave the am-  
 bassadors to understand, that they received the salu-  
 tation of their confederates with all imaginable gra-  
 titude; but that they must deliberate upon the an-  
 swer to be given to the strangers. Then the Indi-  
 ans retired to their lodging, and the senate began to  
 discuss the demand of Cortes, which produced very  
 obstinate debates: some proposing to comply with

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his request, and others insisting upon repelling or destroying him by force of arms. The chief of those who espoused the pacific opinion was an old senator, called Magiscatzen, of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, importing that an invincible race of men would come from the oriental regions, with such dominion over the elements, that they should found floating cities upon the seas, and use fire and air to subdue the earth: he said these strangers were certainly the very people predicted; they came from the east, their arms were fire, they dwelt in floating-houses, and, by their actions in Tabasco, they proved themselves invincible: besides, their arrival was predicted by signals from heaven, which it were impious to disregard; or, supposing those signals were casual, and the strangers no other than men like themselves, they had assisted their allies, and were now come in a peaceable manner, soliciting a passage through their country, which they could not refuse, without being guilty of cruelty to men who had never injured them, as well as of disrespect to their allies, by whom the strangers were so strongly recommended. The speech of Magiscatzen was received with acclamation and applause; when the favourable intention of the senate was wholly altered by the interposition of Xicotencal their general, a young man of great ferocity and ambition, who, with equal eloquence and vivacity, ridiculed the prophecy, or at least the supposition of its being verified in the arrival of the Spaniards, whom he represented as ordinary men, whose vessels and arms were the effect of human industry, whose valour was not uncommon, though their pride, cruelty, and avarice were intolerable; for they contemned the laws and customs of the Indians, thirsted after their gold, lived at discretion, destroyed their temples, and blasphemed their gods: with



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with respect to the signals of Heaven, they were always deemed as fore-runners of calamity, and therefore ought to be interpreted as warnings to oppose and extirpate those presumptuous strangers; for which reasons, he earnestly begged they would give him leave to assemble the forces, and extirpate them at once, as oppressors of their country and enemies of their religion. These arguments preponderated with a people trained to war and ambitious of glory: they ordered the general to form the army and try his strength with the Christians, and in the mean time detained the ambassadors, intending, should they be worsted, to lay the blame of the war upon the ferocity of their Otomy allies, and use the intercession of the Zempoallans in procuring peace.

### C H A P. XII.

*Cortes enters the territories of the Tlascalans, with whom he fights an obstinate battle; they afterwards return to the charge and are repulsed; the Spaniards mutiny and are appeased by the speech of Cortes.*

THE Spaniards having waited eight days at Xacazingo for the return of the messengers, whose delay they looked upon as a confirmation of the hostile intent of the Tlascalans, Cortes resolved to continue his march towards their city, that he might either discover their designs, or attack them before they should be joined by their allies. This was a prudent resolution; for, in all probability, they had not time to guard a strong wall of hewn stone, extending from one mountain to another as a bulwark to their territories, through the opening of which he passed without opposition. It was twenty feet thick, nine feet high, with a parapet upon the top, divided in the middle for an entrance,

which was formed by the two ends circularly crossing each other for the space of ten paces; and might have been easily defended against all invaders. The Spaniards, having passed it without difficulty, formed themselves again into a compact body, and continuing their march, discovered at a considerable distance twenty or thirty Indians, who by their plumes appeared to be soldiers in the field. Cortes immediately sent his scouts to allure them with signs of peace, while he himself followed with eight horse, and ordered his infantry to advance at leisure, that they might not be out of breath in case of emergency. The Indians staid in the same place, until the six horses that were detached before the rest drew near, then they betook themselves to their heels, until they joined their party, which was at some distance, when they faced about and stood in a posture of defence. They were immediately attacked by the fourteen horse united for that purpose, and stood their ground without flinching, notwithstanding the damage they received, until they were reinforced by five thousand Indians, who had lain in ambuscade: at the same time the Spanish infantry came up, and the troops formed themselves into a battalion, to sustain the fury with which the enemy advanced: but at the first volley of the fire-arms, which did great execution, they turned their backs, and the Spaniards taking advantage of their confusion, fell upon them with such resolution, that in a little time they quitted the field, leaving sixty men dead and some prisoners. Cortes would not allow them to be pursued, but took possession of some houses that were in sight, in which they found provisions, and passed the night. Next day, proceeding on their march, they were opposed by a larger body of the enemy, which advanced with great noise; and discharging a flight of arrows and a great quantity of stones from slings,

slings, began to retreat, making a kind of running fight. Cortes perceiving that their retreat was rather the effect of stratagem than of fear, followed in close order, until having reached the top of an eminence in the road, he discovered a plain on the other side, almost covered with an army of forty thousand men, composed of different nations distinguished by the various colours of their ensigns and plumes. The Spaniards, without being discouraged at the sight of such odds, marched down the hill with a chearful security, and forming on the even ground below, where the horses could act, moved on to the attack at the appointed signal: the Indians still retired, until seeing them at a distance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, running furiously to occupy the ground on both sides, then closing in a circle, surrounded the Spaniards, who found it necessary to throw themselves into the form of an hollow square, in order to sustain the fury of the assailants. The air was darkened with arrows, and rent with hideous outcries, an innumerable quantity of darts and stones rained upon the Spaniards, and the Indians perceiving the little effect of these missiles, boldly attacked them with pikes and swords. Cortes, breaking in among them with his horse, trampled under foot all that were in his way, the fire-arms killed them in heaps, the artillery mowed down whole companies, filling their army with death and horror. Numbers were employed, according to the Indian custom, to carry off their killed and wounded; the multitude began to diminish, and their fury to abate: then Cortes, seeing them fall back, placed his horse on the wings, and being followed by the foot at a large pace, charged them with redoubled vigour. At first, they made a gallant resistance, but the horses, that seemed monstrous or supernatural, threw them into disorder, so that they began



to fly on all sides, wounding and treading one another under foot, in the confusion of their flight. During the fray, however, Pedro de Moron being mounted on a mare, engaged himself too far, so that he was furrounded and taken, after having received several wounds; and though he was soon released by another party of horse, the mare was killed, and the Indians had time to close again, and renew the battle. By this time, the Spaniards were tired with action, and began to be dubious of success, when all of a sudden, the cries of the enemy ceased, and this silence was succeeded by the noise of their kettle-drums and horns sounding a retreat, in obedience to which, they moved slowly off, leaving the field to the Christians. It was afterwards known that Xicotencal ordered this retreat to be sounded, because the greatest part of his commanders being killed, he would not venture to manage such an army without officers: yet, notwithstanding their great loss, they entered their quarters triumphant, because they had not been overcome, and the mare's head was carried as a trophy before the general, who sent it to Tlascala, where it was sacrificed in one of their temples, with extraordinary solemnity. In this battle, nine or ten Spanish soldiers were wounded, and some of the Zempoallans, who did good service on this occasion, fired by the example of the Spaniards, as well as with resentment at seeing their alliance despised. Cortes, perceiving a small town on a rising ground that commanded that country, marched thither, and found abundance of provision; but, as there was not sufficient accommodation for the whole army, the Zempoallans built huts for themselves, and chearfully raised some works of earth and fascines to secure the place, which was naturally strong and of difficult access.

Various

Various were the sentiments of the Tlascalans upon the event of this day's engagement. The death of their captains produced a public lamentation: some cried out for peace with those strangers, who were certainly immortal; Magiscatzen valued himself upon having foreseen the disaster, and repeated the arguments he had formerly used in the senate: others breathed nothing but menaces, and the continuation of the war, comforting themselves with the death of the mare. Xicotencal demanded supplies for the army, to revenge the loss they had suffered; and one of the confederates arriving at this period, with ten thousand men, this succour was looked upon as the effect of a particular providence in their behalf, and encouraged them to prosecute the war with fresh vigour. Mean while, the four Zempoallan envoys, having made their escape, returned to the Spanish camp by different ways, and gave an account of their having been destined by the Tlascalans as sacrifices to the god of war, as soon as Xicotencal took the field, at which time they were put in close confinement, from whence they had found means to withdraw: and this information had such an effect upon their companions, that Cortes, who wanted to renew his offers of peace, could not find messengers to carry the proposals.

A profound silence reigned through the whole country, so that the very stillness was suspicious, and the retreat of Xicotencal had all the marks of an undecided dispute: he had reason, therefore, to maintain his post, to the strength of which he had added by new works: yet, foreseeing the Indians would interpret his inaction into fear, an opinion which it was by no means his interest to indulge, he resolved to sally from his quarters the very next morning after the battle, in order to reconnoitre the country, gain intelligence, and disturb

the enemy: which resolution he in person executed with all his horse, and two hundred foot, equally consisting of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He proceeded as far as some villages in the road to Tlascala, where he found great store of provisions, and took several prisoners, from whom he learned that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, in the neighbourhood of the city, employed in recruiting and augmenting the army. Cortes having permitted the Zempoallans, who were now incensed against the Tlascalans, to destroy the country with fire and sword, returned to the camp, from whence he set at liberty all the prisoners he had made in this excursion, that they might retain the impression of Spanish generosity; and of those who were taken on the day of battle, he chose two or three to carry a message to Xicotencal, expressing his concern for the loss he had sustained in the action, which was owing to the obstinacy of his nation, in rejecting the peaceable request of the Spaniards; and desiring that they would now listen to terms of accommodation, otherwise he should be obliged to destroy them root and branch, so as to make the name of Tlascala a terror to its neighbours. The prisoners departed with this message, promising faithfully to return with an answer; and indeed few hours elapsed before they kept their word: for, they came back in a bloody condition, having been mangled by order of Xicotencal, for their presumption in delivering such a charge; to which he answered by the same messengers, that he would at sun-rise meet the Christians in the field, when he made no doubt but he should carry them alive to the altars of his gods, on which their blood should be sacrificed: he, therefore, gave notice of his resolution, that their captain might have time to prepare himself; for, he was not accustomed to lessen the glory of his victories, in attacking his  
 enemy



enemy by surprize. Cortes, though piqued at the insolence of this barbarian, would not neglect his advice ; on the contrary, at day-break he drew his troops into the field, leaving in the quarters, such a force as he thought necessary for their defence, and advancing about half a league, took possession of a part where he could receive the enemy with advantage. There he formed his men, securing his flanks with the artillery, and putting himself at the head of his horse, in order to bring succour to every place where it should be wanted : he waited the event with such signs of ease and security in his aspect, as filled the soldiers with fortitude and resolution. The scouts, in a little time, returned with intelligence that the enemy was upon the march, and presently their vanguard appeared : the plain began to fill with armed Indians, so that the eye could not reach the end of their troops, which covered the whole horizon ; their number amounted to above fifty thousand men, consisting of the whole strength of the republic and its allies. They displayed a great eagle of gold, the ensign of Tlascala, which they never brought into the field except in their greatest undertakings, and they advanced with equal intrepidity and expedition. When they came within cannon-shot, the artillery struck such a terror into them, that they halted for some time, divided between fear and indignation ; but, their rage prevailing, they rushed forward in a throng, until they were near enough to use their slings and arrows, and then they were a second time stopped by the discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows. The engagement lasted a long time, until the Indians, perceiving the carnage that was made among them by the Spaniards and Zempoallans, who stood safe in the advantage of their arms and disposition, obeyed the dictates of fury and despair, and bursting among them like a torrent,

broke

broke their ranks by meer dint of weight and multitude. There was now occasion for all the valour of the soldiers, all the bravery and conduct of the officers to remedy this misfortune ; and indeed they formed again by main force, bearing down all that did not give way to their amazing efforts. At this very juncture, a very great disturbance was observed among the enemy : their troops moved to and fro, dividing and turning their arms against each other ; till at length they retired together in a tumultuous manner ; those who were engaged in the front turning their backs, and flying with precipitation.

It was afterwards known that the cause of this disturbance and retreat was the insolence of Xicotencal, who upbraided one of the confederate caciques with cowardice, because he did not advance when the rest were engaged. The Indian chief, who commanded ten thousand men, replied with equal obloquy, a personal challenge ensued, the other caciques espoused the quarrel of their friend, so that tumult and uproar prevailed : at length, the confederates retired, and Xicotencal, finding himself abandoned by his allies, left the field and the victory to the Spaniards, after having seen a vast number of his people slain upon the spot. Tho' Cortes lost only one soldier on this occasion, some of the men returned to their quarters in a melancholy and desponding humour, produced by the reflection of their having been put into disorder, and loudly declared that they would not sacrifice themselves to the obstinacy of Cortes, but return of themselves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to his own ambition and temerity. This spirit of mutiny and disobedience increased to such a degree, that Cortes found it necessary to assemble and harangue the soldiers : he observed, that they had already vanquished and overthrown the Tlascalans, who,

who, in a little time, would certainly sue for peace; so that they should proceed to Mexico with an additional share of reputation, acquired from the conquest of such a warlike people: whereas, should they now attempt to retreat, they must forfeit all the hopes of their enterprize, bring themselves into contempt with their allies, who now looked upon them as invincible, and expose themselves to the enmity of the Tlascalans, who, knowing all the passes of the country, would undoubtedly harass them in their march by attacks and ambuscades, so as to intercept their return, and perhaps effect their total destruction. In a word, he exerted his eloquence with such success, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow-soldiers, our general is in the right: we cannot now retire without being inevitably lost." And his resolution was applauded by the acclamations of the whole army.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Xicotencal attacks the Spanish quarters by night; his army deserts him; the republic sues for peace; another embassy arrives from Motezuma; Cortes makes his entrance into Tlascala.*

THE inhabitants of Tlascala, intimidated by the event of the second battle, cried aloud for peace with those strangers, who were certainly invincible and immortal. The senate concluded they were magicians, and, resolving to oppose enchantment against enchantment, consulted their own wizzards, who, pretending to have discovered the cause of their own miscarriage, affirmed the Spaniards, being the offspring of the sun, derived a superior force from the warm and invigorating beams of their father: but, that when he disappeared in the west, that influence ceased, and they remained



remained dispirited and withered like the herbs of the field. They therefore proposed that the Christians should be attacked by night, and utterly destroyed before they could be animated by the rising sun. This important intelligence was communicated to Xicotencal by the senate, with orders to execute the plan, and he immediately began to make proper dispositions for the action.

Mean while the Spaniards made sallies to raise contributions among the neighbouring villages, driving the detached parties of the enemy before them, though they used the unarmed natives so well as to gain both their good will and provision. Cortes was particularly careful in preserving strict discipline: he always kept sentinels posted at a distance from the quarters: the guards mounted and were relieved with the greatest regularity; the horses stood saddled all night, and the soldiers either watched or rested upon their arms. This precision was of the utmost consequence; for, on the night destined for the attack projected by the Tlascalans, the out sentinels discovered a body of the enemy marching towards their quarters, with unaccustomed slowness and silence; and notice being given of their approach, the soldiers, without noise or confusion, manned the works, and cheerfully waited to give them a warm reception. Xicotencal had brought with him ten thousand men, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three sides, and they executed his commands with equal speed and resolution: but, they met with such a powerful and unexpected resistance, that many fell upon the spot, and the rest were infected with the greater fear, as they had come in full confidence of finding the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Xicotencal was now sensible of the delusion of the forcerers; but, his anger animated him to such a pitch of courage, that he returned to the assault with redoubled fury:

his

his Indians helping one another to climb over the wall, and one party succeeding as another was slain, for a considerable length of time, during which they suffered as much from their own disorder, as from the arms of the Christians; till at length, the general finding it impracticable to carry his point, ordered the signal to be given for withdrawing his men. But Hernan Cortes, who kept a watchful eye over every circumstance, no sooner perceived them slackening in the attack and retiring from the wall, than he sent out part of his infantry and all his horse, furnished with breast plates full of bells, to charge the retreating Indians, who were so terrified at the unusual noise, that they fled in confusion leaving a considerable number of dead and some wounded, whom they could not carry off. This victory was obtained with the loss of only one Zempoallan: a circumstance altogether surprising, considering the innumerable heaps of arrows, darts, and, stones that were found within the intrenchments.

The news of this action no sooner reached Tlascala, than the inhabitants with one voice demanded peace, and justice against the magicians who had deceived them. The senate assembling, unanimously agreed to punish the impostors, two of whom were immediately sacrificed to their gods, and to implore forgiveness of those strangers, whom they now certainly believed to be the celestial men mentioned in their prophecy. In the mean time, a messenger was sent to inform Xicotencal of the senate's resolution, and commanded him to desist from all further operations of war. This general, however, exasperated against the Spaniards, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, absolutely refused to comply with this command; and resolved to assault the enemy a second time by night, after he should have informed himself of the strength and nature of their fortifications. For this

this purpose, he employed forty soldiers to enter the Spanish quarters among the peasants of the neighbourhood, who resorted thither to exchange provisions for baubles; and these spies spent the greatest part of the morning among the Christians, unsuspected, until a Zempoallan, who had perceived one of them examining the fortifications very narrowly, communicated his suspicion to Cortes, who immediately ordered him to be seized and put to the torture, when he made an ample confession, in consequence of which, his confederates were apprehended, and the whole scheme was discovered. The general, thinking it necessary to act with rigour on this occasion, ordered, that of fifteen who seemed the most obstinate, some should lose an hand, others be deprived of their thumbs, and dismissed to tell Xicotencal that he was prepared for his coming, and had sent those spies alive, that he might not lose their information concerning the Spanish works.

The Indian army was struck with horror and astonishment at this bloody spectacle, and their message made a deep impression on the mind of their general, who now believed, in good earnest, that the Christians could not have penetrated this design, without some supernatural intelligence. While he ruminated on this reflection, he was overtaken by several ministers, who, by the authority of the senate, divested him of the supreme command, on account of his insolence and disobedience: and he was immediately deserted by his captains and men, who being already overwhelmed with consternation, dispersed different ways, leaving him to return to Tlascala in the capacity of a private senator.

All that night, and the next day, the Spaniards expected an attack; but, on the second morning, the advanced sentinels discovered a number of  
loaded



loaded Indians, coming along the road of Tlascala. There were four persons of rank, adorned with white feathers in token of peace, and followed by thirty tamenes loaded with provision. As they approached, they halted from time to time as afraid to advance, bowing their bodies and touching the earth with their hands, which they afterwards applied to their lips, as signals of humility and respect.

Donna Marina, appearing upon the wall, asked in their own language, from whom and for what purpose they came? and when they answered, "From the senate and republic of Tlascala, to treat of peace;" they were permitted to enter. Cortes received them with great gravity and state, and they having repeated their prostrations and performed their fumigations, delivered their embassy, consisting of apologies for what was past, laying the blame of the war upon the ferocious disposition of the Otomies and Chontales their allies; and suing for peace in the name of the senate and inhabitants of Tlascala, who earnestly requested that he would immediately march into their city, where they should be served and respected as children of the sun and brothers of the gods. Hernan, with an affected severity in his countenance, desired they would tell the senate from him, they ought to look upon their admission to his presence, as a mark of his goodness and condescension, considering the methods they had taken to incur his displeasure; that though peace was agreeable to his inclination, they had no reason to expect he should grant it immediately, until they had shewn a disposition to deserve it: he would, however, endeavour to appease the anger of his captains, and in the mean time the Tlascalans would do well to facilitate an accommodation, by an amendment in their conduct. Thus, by keeping aloof, he enhanced the

the value of his friendship, which otherwise might have grown too cheap in the eyes of such a warlike nation.

The fame of the Spaniards increased with their victories; and Motezuma, who, by his caciques and couriers, had intelligence of every thing that passed, was very much alarmed at their success against the Tlascalans; fearing that, should the victors and the vanquished unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet, instead of assembling an army for his own defence, he made no preparations of that kind, as if he had been with-held by some superior genius that over-awed his spirit; but had recourse again to negotiation, and sent another present to Cortes by ambassadors, who had orders to divert him from his intended journey, to keep an eye over his actions, and, if possible, to hinder him from coming to an accommodation with the Tlascalans. Five Mexicans of the first rank, being charged with this present and embassy, arrived in the Spanish quarters immediately after the ministers of the republic had departed; and were most graciously received by Cortes, who thankfully accepted of the present worth a thousand pieces of eight, and heard their message, which contained a congratulation on his success against the Tlascalans; and a request that he would not think of coming to his court, for reasons which hindered him from granting permission. But, Hernan would not dispatch them immediately, being desirous that they should with their own eyes see the Tlascalans humbled; nor did they wish to depart until they should be able to accomplish the real aim of their embassy.

The republic, in the mean time, ordered the neighbouring villages to furnish provisions gratis for the Spanish army, which now enjoyed plenty of every thing, and in two days Cortes was visited

by Xicotencal in person, at the head of fifty noblemen of his party and parentage, who attended him with the ensigns of peace, to execute their commission in the name of the senate. He was above the middle stature, well made, and rather muscular than corpulent; and though his features were not agreeable, his aspect commanded regard: he was habited in a white mantle, adorned with some jewels; he appeared with the free air of a soldier before Cortes, took his seat, and having told who he was, began his speech, by owning frankly that he was the cause of the war, believing the Spaniards were the favourites of Motezuma, whom he abhorred; but now he was come to put himself into the hands of his conqueror, hoping by this submission to obtain pardon for his country, and peace upon his own terms, which he requested once, twice and thrice, in the name and by the authority of the senate, nobles and commons of Tlascala. He likewise intreated him to enter the city, where he would find quarters provided for his men; and, at the same time, begged the inhabitants might be well used, and their gods and wives protected from military license.

Cortes, in the hearing of the Mexican ambassadors, after having complained with some vehemence of the unjust war they had carried on, granted the peace they desired, and promised that no violence or extortion should be committed by his soldiers; adding, that when he should be disposed to enter their city, he would give them timely notice to make the necessary preparations.

Xicotencal, interpreting this delay into a doubt of his sincerity, offered himself and his attendants as hostages: but Cortes would not accept of any security, which he said was altogether unnecessary to an army, which had already maintained itself in the midst of declared enemies; and promising to march



march as soon as he could make the proper dispositions, he broke up the conference, giving his hand to Xicotencal at parting, and telling him, that he would return the visit after he should have dispatched the ambassadors of Motezuma. The Mexicans made a jest of this peace, and pretended to wonder that so wise a man as the Spanish general should be deceived by the Tlascalans, a barbarous people, who supported themselves more by deceit than by valour, and sought to lull him into a careless security, that they might destroy him and his soldiers with the greater ease. But, when they saw him fixed in his resolution to grant a peace, which he said was the chief aim and intention of his arms, they began to be very pensive, and, after a fit of musing, requested that he would delay his march to Tlascala for six days, within which period two of their number should go and inform their prince of this transaction, while the rest would stay there to expect his resolution. To this request, Hernan Cortes consented; for, he did not think proper to break with Motezuma, who, in consequence of this intimation, might lay aside his unwillingness to be seen.

Within the limited time, the ambassadors returned, with six gentlemen of the royal family, and a splendid retinue, bearing another present of greater value than the former, and a message to this import: That Motezuma desired to be a friend and confederate of the great prince whom the Spaniards obeyed, and would pay him a yearly tribute, with the proviso that they should enter into no league with the Tlascalans, and lay aside their design of coming to Mexico, as his people were determined to suffer no strangers to approach his presence.

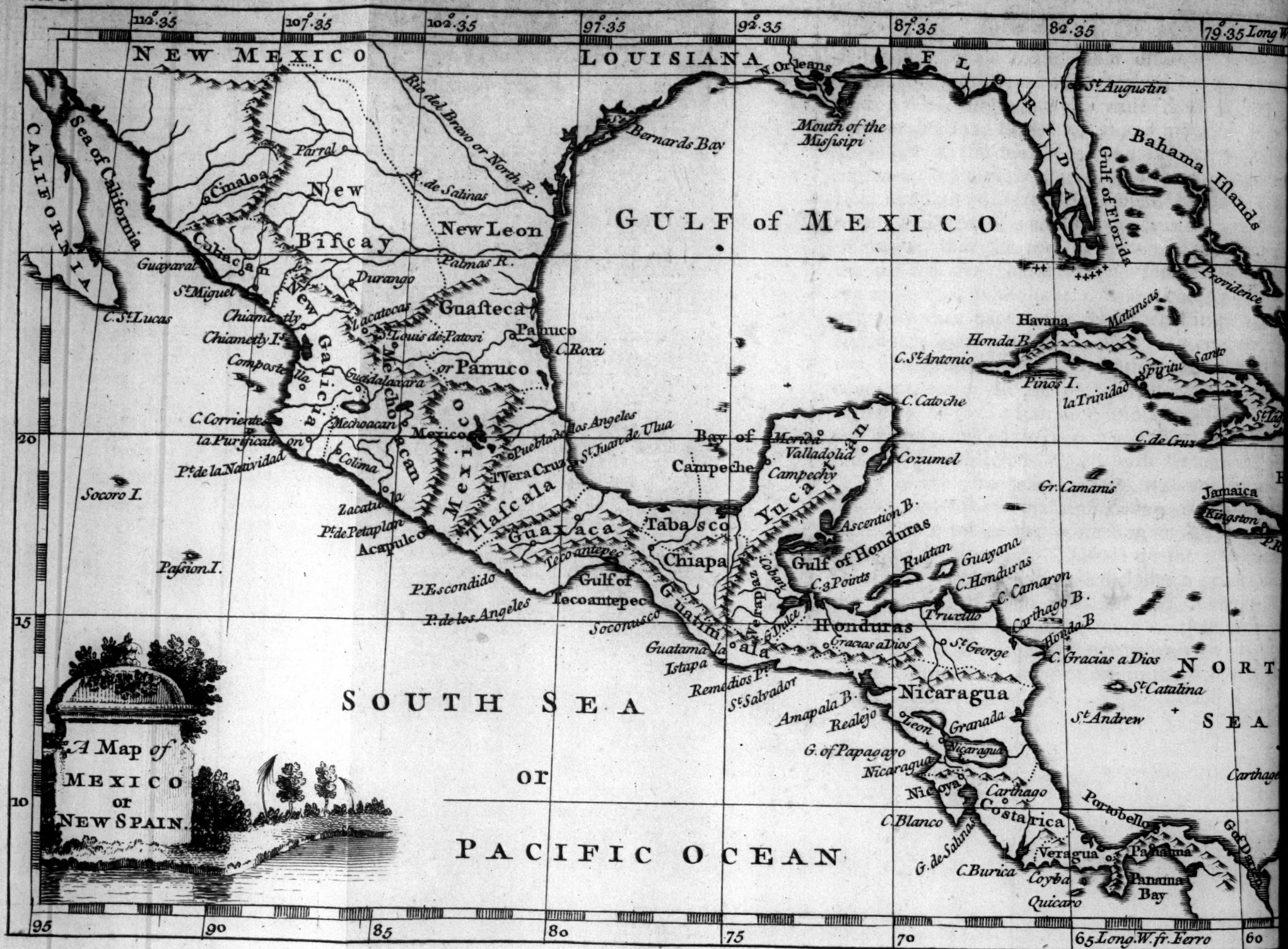
Cortes postponed his answer till after they should have reposed themselves, because he desired

that they should be witnesses of the peace with Tlascalala, and thought it of importance to detain them as long as he could, that Motezuma might have the less time to prepare for hostilities. These embassies alarmed the Tlascalans to such a degree, that the government came to a resolution to visit the Spanish quarters in the form of a senate, in order to convince Cortes of their sincerity, and break off his negotiation with the Mexicans. Accordingly the senators were carried upon the shoulders of inferior officers, and arrived in solemn procession, with a numerous attendance, at the quarters of the general, who received them with his accustomed state and civility, and after they were seated, he was harangued by the father of Xicotencal, an old blind man, of a very venerable appearance; who gave him to understand, that the senate of Tlascalala were come to make their submission, sue for peace on his own terms, and dissuade him from engaging in any league with Motezuma, whom they represented as a tyrant, and foe to humanity and justice: he likewise earnestly intreated him to honour their city with his presence, and was so pressing in repeating this request, that Cortes assured them, he would march to Tlascalala as soon as the people of the neighbouring villages could be assembled, to conduct his artillery and baggage. In consequence of this declaration, he next morning found five hundred tamenes at his quarters, and having made the proper dispositions, forthwith began his march, in that excellent order which his little army always preserved. The fields were filled with innumerable multitudes of people, who came forth to behold the sight, and behaved with such gesticulation and outcries, as the Spaniards mistook for the clamour and threatnings of war, until they were undeceived by Donna Marina, who told them this was the manner in which the Indians expressed their joy on festivals.

festivals. At a considerable distance from the town, the Christians were received by the senators and nobles, who, having made their reverences without halting, turned about and marched before, in token of the most profound regard. At their entrance, the city resounded with shouts, acclamations, and the disagreeable musick of their pipes, drums and horns; and so great was the concourse of people, that the magistrates could hardly keep the passage free: some women threw flowers on the Spaniards, while others, more bold, put nose-gays into their hands; the priests, clad in their long sacrificing garments, came with their copper censers, fumigating the strangers as they passed: and the countenances of all the spectators formed a groupe expressive of joy, admiration and awe. The quarters were provided in a large edifice, which had three or four spacious courts with detached chambers, where the whole army was conveniently lodged, and where the ambassadors of Motezuma were secure under the protection of Cortes, who made his entrance into Tlascala on the 23d day of September, 1519, having concluded a peace with the republic, of such duration and consequence, that to this day the inhabitants of that province enjoy several privileges and exemptions, as a reward of their friendship and fidelity to the first conquerors of Mexico.



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J. Jeffers



## C H A P. XIV.

*An account of the city of Tlascala: Diego de Ordaz explores the volcano of Popocatepec; another embassy from Mexico; Cortes marches to Cholula; where a scheme is laid for his destruction; but defeated by the fidelity and discretion of Donna Marina.*

**T**LA SCALA was a populous city founded upon four eminences, and formed into as many distinct wards, governed by four hereditary caciques, who, nevertheless, depended entirely upon the senate: all the houses were of one story, built of stone or brick, with flat roofs and galleries, and the streets were narrow and crooked, according to the steepness and ruggedness of the mountain; for, the situation and architecture were calculated more for defence than convenience. The whole province was about fifty leagues in circumference, ten in length, and four in breadth, a broken mountainous country, though fertile and well cultivated, surrounded on all sides with provinces depending on Motezuma, except on the north, where it was hemmed in by the Cordilleras, a ridge of mountains, through which they had communication with the Otomies, Totonagues, and other barbarous tribes. Their towns were numerous, their people warlike and superstitious, and their ground produced such plenty of maiz or Indian wheat, that the province acquired the name of Tlascala, which signifies the land of bread. They had great variety of delicious fruit, game of all sorts, and abundance of cochineal, the use of which they learned from the Spaniards. These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by certain inconveniencies, to which they were subject. The



neighbourhood of the mountains was the occasion of horrible hurricanes and inundations, which sometimes destroyed their whole harvest, by suddenly swelling the river Zahual, the water of which was said to be so malignant, that those who used it either for drink or bathing were certainly infected with the itch : besides, their abundance was cursed with the want of salt, which though they could have purchased in exchange for wheat in the dominions of Motezuma, they chose rather to eat their food without seasoning, than maintain a commerce with their enemies.

Cortes, considering the character of the people among whom he lived, acted with the utmost vigilance and circumspection ; the guards were continued in his quarters ; he never went abroad without a number of attendants well armed, and the soldiers never appeared but in companies, and always carried their fire-arms on their shoulders. The Indians were mortified at these marks of caution, which indicated distrust, and Magiscatzin, by order of the senate, complained to Cortes of his diffidence, observing that his soldiers, who passed through the city with lightening on their shoulders, gave more offence by that mark of suspicion, than they could do by committing real violences. Cortes assured him, that he was perfectly convinced of the sincerity and good will of the republic ; but that those circumstances which gave umbrage, were no other than the effects of discipline, by which the Spanish soldiers had been rendered invincible. This reply satisfied the senior and the senate, and the Spaniards had every day fresh proofs of the friendship and fidelity of their new allies : they were entertained with plenty of provision, and presents were poured in upon them from all quarters. Cortes ordered his principal apartment to be converted into a chapel, where mass was regularly celebrated

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lebrated, in presence of the chief Indians. Magiscatzin expressed an inclination to know the articles of the Christian religion, the ceremonies of which he already admired; and being instructed by father Bartolome de Olmedo, he approved of the worship, though he could by no means be prevailed upon to abandon his own gods: observing that the deity of the Christians might be very powerful, but that those of the Indians were likewise mighty enough to protect their votaries. Hernan, whose zeal sometimes got the better of his discretion, proposed to destroy all their idols without delay: but his fervour was moderated by the wisdom of de Olmedo, who told him, that he was not without scruples concerning the violence offered to the Zem-poallans; that persecution and the gospel did ill agree, and that the conversion of these infidels required time and gentle usage. In the mean time, he prevailed with the Tlascalans to desist from sacrifices of human blood, which were so shockingly opposite to the laws of nature; and immediately they set at liberty those miserable victims who were fed in cages for the purposes of their inhuman worship. The peace being established, and the senate of Tlascala having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes dismissed the Mexican ambassadors, desiring they would inform Motezuma of what had passed in their presence; of the solicitations and fidelity of the Tlascalans, with whom he had now such influence, that he hoped in time to reduce them to the obedience of the Mexican emperor; and of his resolution to continue his journey, that he might confer with their sovereign on that subject, as well as on others of greater importance. While Cortes remained at Tlascala, receiving homage, in the name of Don Carlos, from the different towns and confederates of the republic, there was a surprizing

prizing eruption of fire and smoke from the volcano of Popocatepec, a very high mountain at the distance of eight leagues from the city; and this extraordinary discharge overwhelmed the people with sorrow and consternation: for, they looked upon it as a presage of future ills, supposing the sparks of fire to be the souls of tyrants that came abroad to chastize the earth, and that the gods being angry employed them as the instruments of their vengeance. Magiscatzin and some of the chief noblemen were employed in rehearsing these idle fancies to Cortes, when Diego de Ordaz came to ask leave to ascend the mountain, and examine this great secret of nature. The Indians were astonished at the proposal, and endeavoured to dissuade him from such a dangerous enterprize; observing that the boldest of their nation had never ventured to go above some hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that the dreadful roarings and tremblings forbad all approach to the top of the mountain. This account increased the eagerness of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes complied with his request, that the Tlascalans might have a fresh proof of the superior courage of the Spaniards. Ordaz, accompanied by two soldiers and some principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages, set out on this expedition, and found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all sides with green trees, which, for a considerable way upwards, cover the hill; then, the earth grows barren by degrees, the snow lying all the year in those places to which the sun and fire have no access, and the other parts whitened with the ashes discharged from the volcano. The Indians stopped at the hermitages, to which they never expected to see the Spaniards return; and Diego de Ordaz, with his two soldiers, proceeded, climbing courageously among the rocks, until they reached



reached a place at a small distance from the top, when they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard the tremendous roaring of the burning mouth, which in a little time, with redoubled noise, discharged a vast quantity of fire wrapped up in smoke, that, darting upwards to a great height, fell down upon the three Spaniards, in showers of ashes, so thick and hot, that they were obliged to seek for shelter in a hollow of the rock, where they were almost stifled. But Diego de Ordaz, perceiving the earthquake was past, encouraged his companions by his example to prosecute their discovery, until reaching the very mouth of the volcano about a quarter of a league in circumference, he observed at the bottom a very great mass of fire, which seemed to boil like some shining metal in fusion. With this account he returned safe, to the astonishment of the Indians, whose esteem for the Spaniards was increased by this adventure; and though it was at first considered as a rash curiosity in Ordaz, it afterwards proved of signal service in the course of the expedition: for Cortes, from this discovery, found a great quantity of sulphur in the mountain, of which he made gun-powder when it was very much wanted by the army; and the emperor ennobled this action, by giving Ordaz the burning mountain for his arms.

Cortes having spent twenty days at Tlascala, during which, he was entertained with festivals, dances and feats of agility, fixed the day for his departure, and seemed inclined to take the road of Cholula: but his choice was opposed by the Tlascalans, who reinforced the arguments formerly used by the Zempoallans, with saying that Cholula was a sacred place, containing four hundred temples, and such malignant gods that they terrified the world with prodigies; and therefore it would be dangerous to enter their territories, without some assurance

of their being propitious. Before any resolution was taken on this head, new ambassadors arrived from Motezuma, with another present, and permission to the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the army. The Tlascalans no sooner heard of this proposal, than they concluded there was treachery in the case; and Magiscatzin, who had a very warm affection for Cortes, repeated his remonstrances with such demonstrations of concern, that Cortes called a council in his presence, where, after mature deliberation, it was agreed that they could not possibly avoid the road proposed by Motezuma, without discovering their suspicion of his sincerity: that, whether this was well or ill founded, it would be improper to disclose it, and no less dangerous to leave traitors behind them; so that it was necessary for them to go to Cholula, to discover the intentions of the Mexican emperor, and add new reputation to their arms, by chastizing the perfidy of his subjects. Magiscatzin, though he submitted to the superior judgment of the Spaniards, begged leave to assemble the troops of the republic, that they might be ready to assist their friends: and Hernan consented with reluctance to this proposal, which argued such concern and affection.

The Tlascalans were not mistaken in their opinion of Motezuma. That prince, terrified at the victories of the Spaniards, and ashamed to employ his armies against such an handful of people, resolved to destroy them by fraud, and chose Cholula as the scene of his artifice. Yet the inhabitants of that city seem to have been novices in dissimulation: for, they neglected to send deputies to Cortes, who complained to the Mexican ambassadors of this mark of disrespect; and when they were apprised of his displeasure, they sent four persons of no consideration, in such mean equipage, that the Spanish general refused

fed to admit them into his presence. The day of his departure being come, he arose early in the morning to draw up his own men and the Zempoallan auxiliaries, and was not a little surpris'd to find the whole force of the republic, and her allies, already in the field, to an incredible number; the several commands being distinguished by the colour of their feathers, and the difference of their ensigns, representing eagles, lions, and other fierce animals. Their chiefs coming to Cortes, gave him to understand, that they were rais'd by the republic, to serve under his command, and follow his banners as far as Mexico: and though he acknowledged their care and affection with the warmest expressions of gratitude, he was at pains to convince them that it would be improper to march with such an army, when his errand was peace; and, after he had chosen some companies to follow him, the rest were perswaded to remain at Tlascala, ready to march to his assistance upon any emergency. With six thousand of the republic's troops, joined to his own army, Cortes began his march towards Cholula, distant about five leagues from Tlascala, and that same evening halted near a pleasant river, within three miles of the town, which he did not chuse to enter by night. Here he was visited by other deputies from the city, of eminent rank and honourable appearance, who brought a present of provisions, and delivered their embassy, the purport of which was, to excuse their caciques, who had omitted waiting upon him at Tlascala, because he was then in the midst of their enemies, and to welcome him and his people to their city, which was rejoiced at an opportunity of shewing its respect to such honourable guests. Hernan received them graciously, and admitted their excuse, though he was far from being convinced of their sincerity; and, next day, he continued his march towards the city with great vigilance, be-



cause the inhabitants seemed so slow in coming out to receive him. However, as he approached the town, the caciques and priests appeared, with a numerous attendance of unarmed people, and met him with such seeming reverence and joy, as might have imposed upon the most discerning eye: but, when they perceived the body of Tlascalans that marched in the rear, their countenances changed, and a disagreeable murmur arose among their chiefs, the cause of which Donna Marina being ordered to demand, was answered, that the Tlascalans being their enemies could not enter the city in arms; they therefore earnestly entreated that Cortes would order them to return, that their presence might be no impediment to the peace. He was a little disconcerted at this demand, which, however, was so reasonable in itself, that he desired the Tlascalans to take their quarters without the city, until he should be able to penetrate into the designs of the Cholulans; and they, without hesitation, agreed to make their barracks without the walls, in a place where they should be at hand to succour their friends in case of necessity; so that the people of Cholula were entirely satisfied with this disposition. The entry of the Spaniards into Cholula was like that of Tlascala. They passed through an innumerable croud of people, who rent the air with acclamations: the women strewed and presented nosegays, the caciques and priests welcomed them with reverences and perfumes, while a variety of instruments increased the noise, and every thing seemed to denote an universal joy, which the Spaniards, who entered full of jealousy, began to think sincere.

The city, which for its beauty was compared to Valladolid, stood in an open and delightful plain, containing twenty thousand inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number lived in the suburbs. It was greatly frequented by strangers, as a sanctu-  
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ary of the gods, and an emporium of merchandise : the streets were spacious and well planned, the buildings greater and of better architecture than those of Tlascala, adorned with sumptuous towers, that shewed the multitude of their temples : but the inhabitants were more cunning than warlike, consisting chiefly of merchants and mechanics.

The quarters provided for Cortes, were three or four large buildings, contiguous to each other, large enough to contain the Spaniards and Zempoallans : and as for the Tlascalans, they pitched upon a place, at a little distance from the town, which they secured with some works, forming guards, and placing centinels, in imitation of their European friends, from whose practice they had by this time improved in military affairs.

During the first three or four days, there was nothing but the appearance of friendship and tranquillity ; but then, provisions grew gradually scarce, and the entertainments, and attendance of the caciques ceased all at once. Motezuma's ambassadors held private conference with the priests, and the people could not help expressing a kind of scorn and distaste in their countenances. These suspicious circumstances awakened the jealousy of the Spaniards, and Cortes was actually employed in contriving some means to be informed of the intention of the Cholulans, when the whole design was discovered by accident. Donna Marina had contracted a friendship for an old Indian woman of note, who returned her affection with interest ; this lady coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with marks of great earnestness and affliction, that she would immediately forsake those abominable strangers, and repair to her house, where she should find entertainment and protection. Donna Marina perceiving there was something extraordinary in this request, dissembled her inclination, bemoaned her

captivity, accepted her kind offer, and acted her part with such dexterity, that the Indian lady, believing her sincere, told her plainly, that there was no time to be lost, for the Spaniards were devoted to destruction; that Motezuma had provided twenty thousand Mexicans, who were at a small distance, ready to secure the success of the design; of these, six thousand chosen men had already entered the city, in small parties; that abundance of arms was distributed among the inhabitants, who had carried up great quantities of stones to the tops of their houses, and cut deep trenches across the streets, in which sharp stakes were fixed, and slightly covered with earth, for the destruction of the horses; that Motezuma had resolved to make an end of all the Christians; but had given orders that some of them should be taken alive, to satisfy his curiosity, and zeal for religion; and, that he had presented the city of Cholula with a golden drum, curiously hollowed, to excite their courage and industry on this occasion. Donna Marina having gained this intelligence, said, she was ready to attend her kind deliverer; and, on pretence of going to fetch her jewels, went immediately and related the whole conspiracy to Cortes, who ordered the Indian woman to be seized, and, by dint of threats, extorted from her a confession of all the particulars. He was, at the same time, warned by some Tlascalalan soldiers, who came in the disguise of peasants, and desired he would be upon his guard; for, from their quarters, they had seen the Cholulans carrying their women and effects to the neighbouring villages. He likewise understood, that they had in the morning celebrated a sacrifice of ten children, male and female, a ceremony never performed, except when they were on the eve of some military action. Their design was also confirmed by the report of two or three Zempoallans, who, in strolling about the streets,



had by accident discovered the trenches, and some works made to guide the horses to unsuspected precipices.

Hernan Cortes, in order to justify his conduct, by the testimony of some unexceptionable witnesses of their own nation, sent for three of the chief priests, who were of great authority with the caciques and the people, and, discoursing with them separately, complained of their treason, the circumstances of which he explained, without disclosing the authors of his information: so that they, believing him a deity who penetrated into the thoughts of men, acknowledged the truth of what he alledged, and laid the blame upon Motezuma, as the author of the whole contrivance. These priests being secretly imprisoned, and Motezuma's ambassadors excluded from all communication with the people, Cortes assembled his captains, and, having made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy, proposed a scheme for punishing the perfidy of the Cholulans, to which they unanimously gave their assent. In consequence of this plan, he signified to the magistrates that he should depart next day, demanded provisions for his march, Indians of burthen for his baggage, and a reinforcement of two thousand armed men to join the Tlascalans and Zempoallans for his service. These last he demanded with a view of disuniting their forces; and they cheerfully granted his request, in order to introduce among his troops concealed enemies, whom they could use as occasion should offer. Orders were given to the Tlascalans to draw near the city at the dawn of day, and, at the first discharge of the fire arms, to enter the town and join the Spaniards, who, with the Zempoallans, were made acquainted with the nature of the service in which they would be employed. At night, the quarters were secured with guards and centinels for the occasion;

and Cortes, sending for Motezuma's ambassadors, told them as a secret, which he imparted through intimacy and friendship, that he had discovered a conspiracy, formed against him by the caciques and citizens of Cholula, whom he was resolved to punish for their perfidious breach of hospitality, the more because the principal conspirators had not only confessed their crime, but even sought to excuse it, by saying they had received orders and assistance from Motezuma, to destroy the Spaniards in that infamous manner: he therefore took this opportunity of communicating his resolutions to them, that they might be apprised of his reasons, and assured, that he was not so much provoked by their treacherous intention towards him, as by their presumption in authorizing their crime with the name of the emperor.

The ambassadors, though overwhelmed with terror and confusion, protested they knew nothing of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to save the credit of their prince; and Cortes, whose interest it was to seem ignorant of Motezuma's intention, rejoiced in having this opportunity of raising the reputation of his arms, in defeating the arts of the Mexican prince, the weakness of whose resolution plainly appeared in these efforts of deceit.

Early in the morning came the Tamenes, with some provisions, though in small quantity; and afterwards, the armed Indians, exceeding the number that Cortes had demanded: these he distributed into the several courts of his quarters, separating them on pretence of forming his battalions in his usual manner. They being secured, he put his men in order, and mounting his horse, summoned the caciques to appear: when they were assembled, he told them, with a loud and terrible voice, (his words being interpreted by Donna Marina) that their conspiracy being discovered, he would now inflict the punishment,

punishment, by the rigour of which, they should learn to their cost, how much it concerned them to maintain the peace which they had so treacherously conspired to infringe. Scarce had he begun to speak, when they retired with great expedition to join their own forces, insulting him with threats and abuse, which they uttered as they fled. He then commanded his infantry to fall upon their soldiers, whom he kept divided in the squares, all of whom were soon destroyed, except a few, who flung themselves from the walls and escaped. This slaughter being finished, he gave the signal for the Tlascalans to move; and the army advanced slowly into the principal street, after he had left a necessary guard in the quarters, and detached some Zempoallans to discover the trenches, that the horse might avoid the danger. Mean while the Cholulans called in the Mexicans, and joined in a great square distinguished by three temples, posted a number of people on the tops of the towers and in the porches, while the rest were divided into several bodies to engage the Spaniards: but, just as the troops of Cortes entered the square, and the charge was given, the Tlascalans closing with the enemy's rear, they were put into such dread and disorder, that they could not fly, and knew not how to defend themselves, so that they fell in heaps without resistance. The steps and terraces of the temples were covered with multitudes of armed men; and the Mexicans, who undertook the defence of those places, found themselves so incumbered that they could hardly turn, and had scarce room to shoot their arrows. Cortes, advancing to the largest temple, commanded his interpreters to proclaim free passage and pardon to all such as would voluntarily come down and surrender; and this proffer, though twice repeated, being rejected by all but one Indian, he ordered the artillery to batter, and the towers to be set on fire;

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so that great numbers perished in the ruins and conflagration. The other temples being destroyed in the same manner, the Spaniards marched through the whole city, and above six thousand natives and Mexicans were slain. The Tlascalans were very disorderly in pillaging the town, and in particular fell upon the magazines of salt, some loads of which they immediately sent to their own city, remembering the necessities of their country even in the midst of such confusion. Cortes, having assigned quarters to them within the city, retired to his own lodgings, where ordering the principal people of the town, whom they had taken prisoners, together with the priests and Indian woman whom he kept confined, to be brought into his presence, he expressed his concern at being obliged to inflict so severe a punishment, assured them he had laid aside his displeasure, published a general pardon, and begged the caciques would endeavour to re-people the city, by calling back the fugitives, and encouraging those who were concealed to come forth. The Indians could scarce believe themselves at liberty, tho' they kissed the earth in token of acknowledgment and submission. The ambassadors congratulated Cortes on the success of the day, and their compliments were graciously received by the general, who wisely temporized in this manner, rather than run the risque of Motezuma's open resentment: and the citizens, encouraged by the lenity of the Spaniards, returned to their houses, and opened their shops, so that the tumult immediately subsided into obedience and tranquillity.

On the day after the action, Xicotencal arrived with twenty thousand men, which the republic had sent to the assistance of the Spaniards, who always found that nation friendly and faithful; but Cortes, having entertained them with the warmest acknowledgments, told their general, that as he intended

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very soon to begin his march to Mexico, it would be improper to provoke Motezuma, by bringing into his dominion such a number of his declared enemies : and Xicotencal, owning that his remonstrance was just, promised to retire, and keep the troops in readiness for his service when occasion should require. But, before they returned, Cortes mediated a peace between the republic and Cholula, by which wise conduct he opened a way for the Tlascalans to supply him with succours, and removed all impediment to his retreat, in case the success should not answer his expectation.

The day fixed for his departure from Cholula now drawing near, some of the Zempoallans desired leave to return to their own home ; and Cortes granting their request without hesitation, and having thanked them for their good services, took this opportunity of sending some presents to their cacique, to whose care he recommended the Spaniards who were left in his district ; and at the same time he wrote to Juan de Escalante a short account of his success, desiring him to strengthen Vera Cruz with additional fortifications, not so much from fear of the Indians, as of Diego Velasquez, to whose restless ambition he was no stranger. About this time new ambassadors arrived from Motezuma, who being informed of what had passed at Cholula, and, desirous of avoiding all suspicion of having had any concern in the affair, took this method of thanking Cortes for chastizing those traitors, who had acted a part so unworthy of the subjects of such a prince : and this message was accompanied with a present of great value ; his design being to lead the Spaniards into a blind security, so as that they might fall into another ambush which he had prepared for them in their rout.

## C H A P. XV.

*Cortes discovers and baffles a treacherous design of the Mexicans ; Motezuma is dispirited by his oracles ; the Spaniards proceed to the skirts of the great lake ; the general is visited by the king of Tezeuco, and arrives at that city ; from thence he marches to Iztapalapa.*

AFTER a stay of fourteen days at Cholula, Cortes proceeded on his march, and the first night quartered in a village in the jurisdiction of Guajozingo, to which the chiefs of that government and the neighbouring towns repaired with presents and provisions ; and among these people Cortes found the same complaints of Motezuma, as in the more remote provinces : nor was he sorry to see those humours extend so near the heart of the empire, well knowing that a prince cannot be very formidable, who, by losing the love of his subjects, is divested of the surest defence of a sovereign. Next day, he prosecuted his march over a very craggy mountain adjoining to the volcano ; proceeding with great caution, in consequence of the advice he received from one of the caciques of Guajozingo, who told him, that the Mexicans had placed a great ambuscade on the other side of the mountain ; that they had stopped up the high road leading down to the province of Chalco, and opened another ending in natural precipices, that the Spanish army, being intangled in difficulties, might be suddenly charged when their horses could be of no service, and the foot have no room to form. Although Cortes was highly incensed at the treachery of the Mexicans, he stifled his resentment ; and, when he reached the top of the mountain, perceiving the two roads by the description he had received, he, with great composure,



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composure, turned to the Mexican ambassadors, and asked the meaning of that appearance : for, one was blocked up with trees and stones, and the other newly made. They answered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience, and the other flopt up, because naturally more steep and difficult. " You are but little acquainted with the genius of my nation ; (replied Hernan very calmly) they will march in this road you have broke, for no other reason than its difficulty : for, of two things, the Spaniards always chuse that which is least easy." So saying, he desired his Indian friends to march before him, and clear the way, by removing the obstacles to his passage : and his command was instantly executed, to the amazement of the ambassadors, who never dreamed that he suspected their design. But, the Indians in ambuscade, perceiving the Spaniards marching in the royal road, concluded they were discovered, and began to retire in disorder and consternation ; so that Cortes descended into the plain without opposition, and passed the night in some houses, built for the entertainment of Mexican merchants, who frequented the fairs of Cholula.

Moteczuma, in the mean time, dispirited by these disappointments, lost his courage, and grew daily more and more devout : he frequented the temples, redoubled the sacrifices of human blood ; and, at length, assembling his magicians and sorcerers, commanded them, upon pain of death and torture, to take the field, and either overcome or stupify the Spaniards by the force of enchantment. In obedience to his command, several companies of necromancers set out for the road of Chalco, where having performed their conjurations without success, they returned and told Moteczuma, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom proceeded plagues, famine, and other chastisements of heaven, had appeared

peared to them, in a garment girt with a rope of wicker, and, with a frowning aspect, declared that the ruin of Motezuma was decreed, and the desolation of the empire at hand. The king was so astonished at this dreadful report, that he stood speechless for a considerable length of time; then, summoning all his fortitude to his aid, and laying aside his native fierceness, "If our gods forsake us, (said he) let the strangers come, and the heavens fall upon our heads: to turn our backs upon misfortune, would be dishonourable." After a little pause, he added, "I lament the old men, women, and children, who cannot defend themselves:" and with these words a flood of tears ran down his cheeks.

From this moment he began to make preparations for the entertainment and entry of the Spaniards; and the whole discourse of Mexico turned upon their great actions, the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold, the marks they bore of those oriental men who were described in their prophecies, and the despondency of their own gods, who now seemed to abandon their dominion to a deity of superior power. These topics of conversation produced a prepossession, that was absolutely necessary, to enable a handful of men to penetrate to the very court of such a potent and absolute prince, whose subjects revered him even to adoration.

From the houses where Cortes quartered his troops on the other side of the mountain, he advanced the following day to a small village in the jurisdiction of Chalco, about two leagues from the former encampment, and there he was visited by the principal cacique of the province, and others of the neighbourhood, who brought presents and provisions; and, when unobserved by the Mexican ambassadors, complained to Hernan, as to a superior being, of the tyranny of Motezuma. They set forth the  
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grievous load of taxes they bore; and added, with tears in their eyes, that, not contented with their effects, he took their women as a tribute to his lust, and that of his ministers; so that the daughter found no security in the mother's arms, nor was the wife protected in the bed of her husband. Cortes heard them with compassion, and comforted them with hope of relief; and next day, pursued his march for four leagues, through a pleasant country, adorned with beautiful groves and gardens, until he arrived at a village in Amemeca, built on a creek of the great lake, where he chose his lodging for the night. Hither resorted the Mexicans, with their arms and military ornaments, to such a number as awakened the suspicion of Cortes, who, in order to keep them at a proper distance, commanded some fire arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, the report of which, attended with flame and smoke, obliged them to retire with precipitation.

In the morning, the general was visited by prince Cacumatzin, nephew to Motezuma, and lord of Tezeuco, a young man of an agreeable presence, who was carried on the shoulders of some Indians of his own family, in a chair adorned with a variety of plumage very curiously diversified. So soon as he alighted, his servants went before, to sweep the ground, and push back the people on each side: and Cortes going to the door of his apartment, received him with a profound reverence, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and afterwards his lips with his right hand; then taking his place with an easy air, he welcomed him and all his captains; informed him of the amicable disposition of Motezuma; and mentioned the difficulties that opposed his coming to Mexico, proceeding from that year's barrenness, by which the people were very much distressed; so that strangers must be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted necessa-  
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ry subsistence. To this declaration Cortes answered, that the king, his master, having some reasons of high import, for offering his friendship to Motezuma, and communicating several affairs which essentially regarded his person and dignity, he, his servant, did with great respect accept the liberty he had received to deliver his embassy; without being in pain for the present scarcity; as the Spaniards required but little nourishment, and were inured to suffer, and even despise those inconveniences which distressed men of an inferior species. Cacumatzin made no other attempt to divert the resolution of Cortes, from whom he received some jewels of glass, with abundance of joy and acknowledgment, and accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominion, from whence he proceeded to Mexico, with an account of his embassy.

Tezeuco was one of the greatest cities of the empire, and even vied in grandeur with Mexico itself. The principal front was extended on the border of a spacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican causeway, by which the general pursued his march without halting, intending to advance three leagues farther to Iztacpalapa, from whence he could next day enter Mexico, in good time. In this part, the breadth of the causeway amounted to twenty feet, composed of stone and lime, with some works on the surface; and mid way upon it was another town of about two thousand houses, called Quitlavaca, founded in the water, whence it afterwards acquired the name of Venuzucla or Little Venice. Here the cacique, with a grand retinue, came out to receive Cortes, whom he desired to honour his city that night with his presence, and pressed the invitation with such cordiality, that Hernan thought proper to comply with his entreaties; especially as his stay might enable him to make observations: for, having now a nearer view of the danger, he suspected

that the Mexicans would break the causey, or take away the bridges to obstruct his march. From this place might be seen the greatest part of the lake, beautified with towns and causeys, towers and pinacles, trees and gardens, that seemed to swim upon the water; besides, a multitude of Indians approaching in their canoes to behold the Spaniards; and still a greater number on the battlements of the houses, forming a prospect extremely noble, and a novelty surprising beyond imagination.

The army was well accommodated in these quarters, where the people entertained them with a chearful aspect and polite demeanor, that spoke the neighbourhood of the court: yet the cacique could not help expressing by hints his hatred to Motezuma, and the desire he had to be freed from the intolerable yoke of his dominion.

Next morning, a little after break of day, the Spaniards formed themselves upon the causey, which in that part was wide enough to allow eight horses to march in front; and the army, consisting of four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and six thousand Indian allies, continued their march to Iztacpalapa, a place consisting of ten thousand houses, two and three stories high, part of which were built upon the lake, but chiefly on the shore, in a most delightful and commodious situation. Before the Spaniards reached this city, the lord of it, accompanied by the princes of Magiscatzingo and Cuyoacan, towns bordering upon the lake, came forth to meet Cortes, with three separate presents of fruits, fowls, and other provisions, with some pieces of gold; and, when they entered the city, they were welcomed with loud acclamations. Their lodging was prepared in the prince's own palace, which was large and well built, with distinct apartments both above and below, among which were many chambers with flat roofs of cedar, and furnished with cotton hangings

ings curiously painted. Here were many fountains of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and among a great number of large well cultivated gardens, was one far more specious and beautiful than the rest, set apart for the diversion of the cacique. It abounded with fruit-trees, disposed into large walks ; and there was a parterre with divisions made of canes, interwoven and covered with odoriferous herbs ; besides several well cultivated squares, adorned with variety of flowers. In the middle of the garden was a quadrangular pond of fresh water, encompassed with a wall, having stairs on all sides to the bottom, so large that each side extended four hundred paces ; and in this reservoir were kept the most delicate fish, while it served as a retreat to several sorts of water-fowl.

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